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NATO Tactical Nuclear Arms Plans Criticized

LD1808150789 Moscow TASS in English 1451 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 18 TASS—By TASS military analyst Vladimir Chernyshev:

The reduction of armaments is a key question of security and stability in Europe. A real chance has now emerged to achieve substantial successes this year at the Vienna talks on the reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces in Europe. As reduction in conventional weapons proceeds, the problem of tactical nuclear arms will acquire greater urgency.

The USSR and its allies do not intend to link these two problems. However, they are firmly convinced that preservation, modernisation and, especially, the further buildup of tactical nuclear arms having an immense destructive potential and ability to be used as first strike weapons, will have an increasingly destabilising influence on the military-strategic situation in Europe. Therefore, they propose that separate negotiations be started on tactical nuclear weapons. A stage-by-stage reduction and then elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, along with radical cuts in armed forces and conventional arms, would be an effective means of lessening the military threat and strengthening mutual confidence.

Apart from making proposals and issuing calls on their partners, the socialist countries take unilateral practical measures, showing a good example to the other side. This year the Soviet Union, now having 2,500 nuclear ammunitions in Europe, is unilaterally withdrawing 500 charges of tactical nuclear systems from allied socialist countries. It declared readiness to withdraw all nuclear ammunition from its allies provided the United States makes a similar move.

It would seem logical that the NATO countries would respond to the positive proposals by the Warsaw Treaty states and to practical goodwill moves by the USSR. Regrettably, this is not the case. Moreover, along with the known intentions "to modernise" tactical nuclear missiles, the North Atlantic Alliance having 4,000 nuclear ammunitions in Europe, is improving and stockpiling nuclear weapons. It is modernising nuclear artillery and dual-capacity aviation. The alliance is even developing a new air-to-ground missile.

According to Western experts, the implementation of all U.S. programs and the implementation by Britain and France of plans to build up nuclear forces will result in the appearance of thousand new nuclear systems in Europe. This will not improve the military and political situation on the continent. On the contrary, the stockpiling of nuclear weapons results in mistrust and is fraught with the danger of destroying the gains in East-West relations.

Thus, despite the INF Treaty and favourable chances to cut conventional weapons, the European public has serious grounds to be concerned over the situation with tactical nuclear weapons. Europe needs talks on this type of weapons, which would be conducted simultaneously with negotiations on conventional arms.

France To View Soviet Troop Exercises

LD1908120789 Moscow TASS in English 1105 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—On August 18, 1989, the Government of the Republic of France approached the Soviet Union with a request to inspect a Soviet troop exercise on the territory of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic of which all states, parties to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe were notified last July, and observers were invited.

The Soviet side, guided by the Stockholm conference document, with a view of building up confidence and security in Europe, gave a positive answer.

An inspection group of four arrived in the USSR on August 19.

'Observers Roundtable' on Afghanistan, Lebanon

LD2008194189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 20 Aug 89

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Boris Andrianov, All-Union Radio foreign affairs commentator; Nikolay Ivanovich Agayants, All-Union Radio foreign affairs commentator; and Rudolf Georgiyevich Kolchanov, deputy editor-in-chief of TRUD]

[Text] [Andrianov] Hello, comrade. Let's start our traditional Sunday roundtable meeting. Taking part in it today are my colleage Nikolay Ivanovich Agayants, All-Union Radio foreign affairs commentator, and Rudolf Georgiyevich Kolchanov, deputy editor-in-chief of TRUD.

Last Saturday was the 70th anniversary of the establishment of Afghanistan's independence. The people of that country had occasion to mark this remarkable date in its history in the complex situation which has taken shape as a result of the increasingly wide-ranging interference by external forces in its internal affairs. Today, just as seven decades ago, the true patriots of Afghanistan are compelled to defend with arms the political independence, territorial integrity and national sovereignty of their motherland and to strive for the most rapid restoration of peace and tranquillity in the country on the basis of national reconciliation. For this alone can serve as a way out of the fratricidal bloodshed which has dragged out over long years.

[Kolchanov] Yes, blood is still being shed in that country and I think scarcely anyone would now venture to predict when peace will finally come to the long-suffering land of Afghanistan which has been scorched by the flames of war, although it's no secret to anyone why peaceful life has still not returned to Afghanistan or who precisely is supporting the conflagration of war there. For it's a generally known fact that the United States and Pakistan, which signed the Geneva Agreements on Afghanistan, have not only not ceased to support the rebel forces and to interfere directly in the affairs of the sovereign state, but on the contrary have expanded the scale of this activity. Why is this happening? I think it is because in both Washington and Islamabad policy on Afghanistan is still being formed by foes of a political settlement. They are not proceeding from the realities which objectively exist. These figures prefer to make their own regional ambitions and mercenary political calculations the cornerstones. In the words of the British THE OBSERVER newspaper, it is becoming increasingly difficult to justify such a policy toward the conflict in Afghanistan. Nevertheless, the United States, for example, is continuing to extricate itself, although it must be said that this is turning out to be somewhat clumsy. Among U.S. diplomats continuity is considered a virtue, THE WASHINGTON POST pointed out, in attempting to explain why the State Department of the United States of America and the National Security Council are opposed to changes in policy toward Afghanistan. Their logic, as they say, is simply devastating. They say that continuity of policy is something essential; it is indisputable that it is essential, but only if it is a matter of continuing and developing positive processes and not of repeating past mistakes and unjustified strong-arm methods in international affairs.

[Andrianov] When you attempt to examine the United States' policy towards Afghanistan you are immediately struck by the old methods being used by Washington; it is seeking the key to the solution of particular problems not among political means but in the arsenal of methods of reliance on force. The U.S. strategists clearly evaluated the signing of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, and the subsequent withdrawal of our troops from that country, not as a manifestation of new thinking in one aspect of Soviet foreign policy. They interpreted this, and have stated it openly, as the result, if I may say so, of the effective use of U.S. Stinger anti-aircraft missiles which, they say, altered the course of military action in favor of the resistance forces. By all appearances, Washington seriously calculated that after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan that country would fall like an overripe apple into the hands of the armed opposition, so cherished by the United States. But it has become clear that this is no apple at all but a pretty tough nut which has turned out to be much too hard for their teeth to crack. Incidentally, Washington has now been forced to admit this too.

[Agayants] Incidentally, Boris Vasilyevich, it is exactly 6 months this week since the last Soviet soldier left Afghanistan's territory. And do you remember how unstinting both the West and, to no less a degree, Pakistan were at that time in their predictions that after that event the Republic of Afghanistan's Government would fall in a number of weeks and the armed oppsition would seize complete power? But these prophecies were not destined to come about. The government army and all Afghan patriots through their selfless efforts buried the extremists; calculations on a lightning solution, and a military solution in general, of the issue of the country's future. For after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan the situation there underwent an abrupt evolution. I mean the fact that foreign interference essentially developed into aggression and intervention. Obtaining increasing amounts of weapons, including the most up-to-date ones, from the United States and Saudi Arabia, the extremist wing of the opposition, with the support of Pakistan, is energetically including the latter's military subunits in its battle orders. This trend is assuming so provocative a nature that many foreign observers are even speaking of the beginning, to all intents and purposes, of an announced Afghan war by Pakistan. In the ranks of the mujahidin who are in the firing line there are already more than 1,000 mercenaries recruited in several Muslim countries.

[Kolchanov] Nikolay Ivanovich, all of this is of course seriously whipping up the already complex situation in Afghanistan, but even in these conditions the republic's

armed forces have already repeatedly proven themselves to be capable of inflicting blows upon the formations of mujahidin and their stooges from which it takes them a long time to recover and, incidentally, in doing which they lose to a significant degree their combat spirit. To be brief, in the past 6 months the ruling republican structure has convincingly shown the whole world that it is viable and that it is militarily, politically, spiritually and morally superior to its opponents. Washington should attempt to analyze here the true reasons for the steadfastness of the Kabul government which is striving for national reconciliation, and it should analyze the reasons for the defeat of the Afghan opposition whose actions after the withdrawal of Soviet troops turned into a virtual war against their own people. For it's an obvious fact that the so-called holy war which the armed opposition has declared against the Republic of Afghanistan is, in the main, acquiring the nature of an elimination of the peaceful population and this is evidence of the fact that the so-called irreconcileable extremists have, in essence, degenerated into an antinational, anti-Afghan force and, looking at their misdeeds, Afghans are asking themselves increasingly frequently: What will happen to us if these cutthroats should suddenly come to power in the country?

[Adrianov] Rudolf Georgiyevich, you said that Washington should analyze properly the events of the past months in Afghanistan. I don't know about analysis, but to all appearances Washington is pondering on the situation which has taken shape and so is Islamabad. I should like to quote what was written in THE WASHINGTON POST in an attempt to reply to the question of why the policy developed and conducted in relation to Afghanistan by the U.S. Administration and the Pakistani military has failed. First and foremost because Afghanistan's provisional government is not representative or effective, the paper believes. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, this government has been unable to provide either a political alternative which might throw down a challenge to the Kabul regime, or an administrative organ which could administer Afghanistan after a mujahidin victory. This is what the so-called provisional government is guilty of which to this day is sitting it out on Pakistani territory, in Peshawar. But this is a typical puppet formation. This was stated openly this week by the British paper THE INDEPENDENT. It wrote the following, literally: The provisional government, formed in February, was for the most part formed by Pakistan's military intelligence service. However, one Pakistani figure recently stated—and this was the first official admission of the possible failure of Pakistan's policy: The provisional government has suffered an absolute and complete catastrophe. It has failed and we must seek alternatives. These words disguise the squabbling taking place in this government, if I may describe it as such, which includes representatives of seven opposition groupings. A grave quarrel has started there which has given grounds for even the U.S. press to write that the seeds of civil war have already been sown among the mujahidin. And it has virtually begun already.

[Kolchanov] However, instead of drawing the appropriate lessons from all of this, both Washington and Islamabad are continuing to follow their previous line, calculating on bringing their proteges to power in Afghanistan by means of all sorts of truths and untruths, by hook or by crook.

This is indicated in particular by a remarkable incident which occurred at the United States Embassy in Pakistan. Edmund McWilliams worked there as chief specialist on the war in Afghanistan. He was an experienced diplomat. Prior to his arrival in Islamabad he worked in the U.S. Embassy in Kabul where he carried out the duties of first deputy chief of the U.S. mission. He was known as a supporter of the Cold War with bloodstained hands, since he felt personal devotion to the struggle of the Afghan rebels against the Kabul government. And nonetheless in his secret telegrams to Washington McWilliams asserted that calculating on a swift military victory over the Kabul regime was simply unrealistic. He cast doubt on the U.S. policy on Afghanistan, considering that the main emphasis must not be on a military solution since in that case Washington would cede the political initiative to the Najibullah government. It was for this reason that McWilliams came into conflict with Ambassador Robert Oakley, and one must suppose that it was not without Washington's sanction that a diplomat who knew what he was doing but whose point of view did not coincide with official views was recalled to the United States, in order not to get under people's feet, as they say, knocking U.S. strategists off their old target. Concerning this issue the British paper THE TIMES expressed its conviction that the U.S. Administration would continue supporting the Afghan rebels despite recent military and political failures. But indeed the irreconcilable opposition has gambled on continuing the war and on fratricidal bloodshed. The Republic of Afghanistan Government is firmly pursuing a course toward stopping the senseless carnage in order to safeguard peace and tranquillity in the country. These guiding lines are in accordance with the vital national interests of the Afghan people and its word must be the deciding factor.

[Andrianov] I think that events which have been taking place in the Near East have of course been among the main events, the main international problems.

[Agayants] Yes, Boris Vasiliyevich that is undoubtedly the case although the Lebanese crisis is already 15-years old. Civil war broke out in April 1974 and it has continued virtually without a break until the present time. According to incomplete figures during these years 150,000 Lebanese people have died and around 1 million people have left the country while over 500,000 have become refugees inside the country having left their homes and places of birth. In trying to escape from one danger, from the disaster of war in one part of Lebanon, in the end they wind up in other areas which are in the grip of bloodshed.

In August last year the country was left without a president but with two opposing governments in the firing line. One is headed by the Muslim, Salim Huss and the other by the Christian, Michel 'Awn. Furthermore there has been constant fighting between the Shi'ite organizations Amal and Hizballah and also combat actions by right wing Christian detachments against Syrian troops. What is more, Amal and Hizballah which are enemies, are fighting against the Lebanese Christians, not jointly but separately. And finally, the south of Lebanon is, as before, virtually occupied by Israel which is engaging in combat either directly or via the puppets in the so-called South Lebanese Army of General Lahad. The excesses of the Israeli occupiers in the south have been described many times in the world press and a few months ago I was a direct witness of these crimes.

And so the highly complex military and military-political situation which has now arisen on Lebanese soil is evident even from this sketch, which is nothing more than an outline. In march this year an incredibly fierce artillery duel started and the opposing groups changed from the tactic of waging trench warfare to active combat operations aimed at seizing territory and changing the boundaries of their enclaves. The green line which divides the Christian and Muslim zones in Beirut was transformed into a mobile frontline. Since 14 March around 900 civilians at least have been killed in Lebanon and over 3,000 have been injured. The number of casualties among the military is unknown since the warring parties conceal these data.

Fierce fighting in which artillery and tanks were used continued last week until Thursday between units belonging to Muslim groups and the Lebanese army in the area of Suq al Gharb and in one of the districts on the green line which divides the city into Christian and Muslim sectors. The position of Beirut's inhabitants remains extremely serious. Since these intensive artillery duels began in March this year almost half of the 1.5 million population has left the capital. According to police figures, 73 people have been killed in the city and 1,896 have been injured during this period. The world is anxious about the Lebanese tragedy.

[Kolchanov] A Security Council meeting was convened on the initiative of the UN secretary general for the first time. It called upon the sides in Lebanon immediately to stop all operations, firing and bombardments on land and at sea and also to observe a full and immediate cease-fire.

[Agayants] The opposing Lebanese groups, responding to the UN Security Council appeal called a cease-fire. General Michel 'Awn who leads the Christian so-called military transitional government stated that he welcomed this step. Salim Huss the head of the government of national unity who expresses the interests of the Muslim community in Lebanon pointed out that the cease-fire may open up the path to settle the Lebanese crisis by means of talks. The Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon has distributed a statement which says in particular that it will consent to a cease-fire if a Lebanese security committee is set up to monitor the coast in order to prevent arms supplies to General 'Awn.

[Kolchanov] Undoubtedly this positive information cannot fail to gladden us, but nonetheless practice has not been as optimistic as the statements from the opposing sides and people involved with them. Any aggravation of the situation surrounding Lebanon, any adventurist step, any ill-considered or hasty decision may instantly cause the situation to deteriorate still further and lead to unpredictable consequences. I would say that in the very closely interwoven mesh of military, political, and religious factors each new flare up is frequently in itself capable of becoming a factor which, at first glance, has no outward link with the other factors but which in actual fact does influence the overall situation.

A typical example of this is the so-called hostage crisis. Israel, in kidnapping Shaykh 'Ubayd, one of the leaders of the Hizballah organization, provoked an international conflict. It is by no mere hazard that even the U.S. mass information media, including Jewish community publications, has accused Israel of irresponsibility. Of course there is no justification for the crimes of extremists who killed the hostage Higgins, a U.S. officer, but in kidnapping the shaykh the Israeli leaders could not have failed to foresee the consequences of this action. The lives of the other hostages and kidnapped people are threatened. The attempts being made by various sides to bring about their release have unfortunately so far failed to bring positive results although optimistic notes are sounding increasingly confident.

[Andrianov] Meanwhile, the United States is increasing its military presence off the shores of Lebanon. THE NEW YORK TIMES, which is usually well-informed, writes of three options for possible use of military force by the U.S. Administration.

[Agayants] In this connection I would like to say the following. No matter what plans exist one would like to hope that first and foremost Washington will show maximum political prudence and will not turn a military conflagration into a catastrophe with unpredictable, but undoubtedly most tragic, consequences.

[Andrianov] One of the most worrisome and explosive regions of our planet is Central America, where the threads of social, economic and political contradictions are gathered into a tight knot; a region where, because of its imperial ambitions Washington does not wish to take modern realities into consideration. So, the situation remains extremely tense, although there too, under the influence of the new political thinking and the positive changes which are taking place in the world, the process of national reconciliation is gathering strength.

The military defeat of the Nicaraguan contras has created a real opportunity to extinguish the flame of the conflict blazing there. Political ways to resolve the problem are coming increasingly to the fore and the Contadora Group countries' as well as governments of Central American states, are taking an interested part in this process.

[Kolchanov] And there are already the first reassuring results, Boris Vasilyevich. I think that now we may boldly talk about the fact that light has begun to appear at the end of the tunnel.

[Andrianov] You mean the Honduras summit meeting?

[Kolchanov] Yes. For the fifth time, in the town of Tela, the presidents of the Central American states have gathered in order to at last achieve peace and tranquility in the region and to halt the senseless shedding of blood. The documents adopted by them have called for that peace process which was, I would remind you, started 2 years on the basis of the well-known Guatemala agreements, to be logically supplemented and developed. The declarations adopted at the meeting envisage a number of concrete moves aimed at both neutralizing factors causing the most tension in the region and activating the mechanisms of dialogue and reconciliation of interests with the aim of affirming peace in Central American and the consolidation of the democratic processes of each of the countries, that is, of Guatemala, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Honduras.

And although the signatures placed under summit meeting documents, as practice teaches, are still not a guarantee of the cessation of a regional conflict, it nevertheless seems to me the present situation which has developed there is more favorable for fruitful solutions. In the first place, because the contras no longer represent a serious military threat, while the growing democratization process in Nicaragua is becoming ever more difficult to disclaim and ignore, even for the most vehement opponents of the Sandinist revolution.

Second, albeit slowly and with difficulty, the quest for ways to achieve a dialogue between the opposing sides in Guatemala is proceeding steadily. Third, the hopelessness of any military solutions in El Salvador is becoming ever more obvious. And, finally, fourth, the position of the Honduran Government is becoming significantly more clear in relation to its neighbor Nicaragua.

But, besides this, Costa Rica will also win from the cessation of the dangerous conflict, which, although not subject to acute social and political cataclysms at present, is in an extremely poor way as a result of the confrontation existing in the region.

[Andrianov] It goes without saying that everybody needs peace, normal relations and cooperation. But, returning to the subject of the Tela summit meeting, I would like to single out what, in my opinion, is its main result—the working out of a calendar and mechanism for the demobilization, voluntary repatriation and resettlement to third countries of the Nicaraguan contras and their families from Honduras.

By the beginning of December this process should be completed which the international commission, whose formation lies ahead this month with the participation of the United Nations Organization and the Organization of American States, has been called to aid in every way possible. This is a very important aspect.

[Kolchanov] Undoubtedly. And thus, by means of these accords the Honduran Government has appealed to UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar to accelerate the creation of such a commission and has stated its readiness to accept 100 military observers from the United Nations Organization who will implement monitoring [kontrol] of the fulfilment of the plan to demobilize more than 12,000 Nicaraguan contras, whose camps are located in the El Paraiso department in the southeast of the republic of Honduras.

And, as we have started talking about the fact that that the Honduran Government has clearly defined its position regarding its neighbor Nicaragua, it is necessary, if only briefly, to recall an interview which is extremely symptomatic of the present situation, which president Jose Azcona Hoyo gave to the ELDORADA newspaper. If the members of the opposition formations, that is, the contras, will oppose the decision of the heads of five Central American states to lay down their arms and prefer the path of armed struggle against the Sandinist government, Honduras will find a way to solve this problem, said President Jose Azcona Hoyo.

Evidently, it is already possible to talk firmly about the Honduran Government's intention to support the fulfilment of the accords achieved at the summit meeting with concrete deeds. And that, naturally, inspires hope in successfully untying the knots of Central America's drawn-out conflicts.

[Andrianov] That is so, but unfortunately, not completely correct, Rudolf Georgiyevich. Reporting the reactions of various forces to the documents adopted in Tela, the foreign mass information media, and above all, of course, the Latin America media, note the vehement opposition of the contra leaders to the dissolution and repatriation of their formations. They continue, as the saying goes, to cloud the issue, threatening to transfer their bases onto Nicaraguan territory and to carry on the war against their own people.

Today, also, much will depend on Washington's position, with whose blessing and under whose wing the contra bands have been acting. After all, it was not for nothing that Nicaragua demanded that the United States prevent any anti-Nicaraguan activity on United States territory by the contra ringleaders, who have asked the U.S. authorities to grant them political asylum.

[Agayants] There is no way that you call such a diplomatic demarche by Managua accidental, and, indeed, the concern of the Sandinista government is completely understandable. You see, for so many years now on U.S. territory there have been entrenched the pathetic people who are the Gusanos, the Cuban counterrevolutionaries, who mount all kinds of provocations, sabotage and so forth against the island of freedom.

As far as the United States position is concerned, then, it is likely that the decisions in Tela have caused a certain confusion in Washington. On Monday, immediately after the adoption of the documents, on Monday morning James Baker telephoned Oscar Arias, president of Costa Rica, as the newspaper THE WASHINGTON POST reported, to express his dissatisfaction in connection with a number of provisions of the document adopted by the five heads of state. And already at midday on the same day it was necessary to beat a retreat. A spokesman for George Bush announced that the United States, in general, supports the agreement, although from the commentaries and interpretations which then followed it became quite obvious that, while welcoming in word the important document, Washington is as before insisting on its own way on the issue of the disbanding of the contras.

[Kolchanov] In this context I would like to quote an announcement by a White House spokesman: We are moving, he said, toward demobilization and repatriation, meaning, of course, the contras. But at present, I think, it is too early to say that the game is over. Our policy consists of the fact that we do not want demobilization before the elections.

There it is, straight, clear and open.

[Andrianov] Well, these revelations were not unforced, as they say. The administration does not possess sufficient political levers to directly reject the conditions of the final document of the Tela summit meeting. Thus it is maneuvering. As far as the elections are concerned, they are set in Nicaragua for 25 February next year. But, according to the conditions reached in the accord, the demobilization of the contras under the monitoring of the international commission must be completed by 8 December this year.

Incidentally, the White House spokesman also came out with the following: If the contras do not like the conditions proposed by the commission, he said, they will refuse completely to demobilize.

[Agayants] It is not out of the question that in the coming months Washington, suffering a painful fiasco in the fight against Sandinist Nicaragua, will attempt to change the situation to its advantage and somehow neutralize the accords achieved in Tela. In Managua, for their part, they are doing everything so as not to give enemies the opportunity to accuse them of not fulfilling the obligations they have taken on and not to allow an aggravation of the situation to be provoked in the region. The trial of strength continues. We must hope that sense and goodwill will triumph, and that the process of a political settlement in Central America will continue.

[Andrianov] Here, esteemed comrade listeners, we are ending our roundtable meeting. All its participants thank you for your attention. Goodbye. All the best to you.

United States & Canada

U.S. Congressmen Give Moscow News Conference

LD1808115389 Moscow TASS in English 1122 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 18 TASS—The visit of American legislators to the Soviet Union was an important step in the expansion of contacts with the USSR Supreme Soviet in the military domain, it was started here today at a farewell news-conference by Les Aspin, Democrat of Wisconsin, leader of the House of Representatives Armed Services Committee delegation, which left the Soviet capital for home today. He stressed that during their stay in the Soviet Union the U.S. congressmen were given a chance to see with their own eyes many things that were but recently out of bounds for westerners. This convinced them of the reality of what is now known as "new Soviet glasnost", Les Aspin said.

The head of the American delegation noted that his committee was looking forward to a visit to the United States of representatives of the Supreme Soviet's defence and state security committee. He said the Soviet legislators would be shown everything "they showed us in the Soviet Union." The American side, he stressed, is interested in displaying complete reciprocity in respect to members of the Supreme Soviet. He said he did not know when they would come to the United States, perhaps in January-February of the next year, but the American side was prepared to show them objectives similar to those the U.S. guests had seen in the Soviet Union.

Les Aspin said that the Soviet side's openness and frankness in questions of military construction testified to the extent to which the situation had changed in the country. Talks with Soviet colleagues allowed the U.S. delegation to obtain valuable additional information and reinforced the foundations of mutual trust. The leaders of the American delegation pointed out that when people really knew what the military leaders of the two countries were doing, they were not apt to exaggerate the military danger.

Congressman William Dickinson, Republican of Alabama, noted that the trip was remarkable in many respects. He believes that the warmth and hospitality with which the delegation was surrounded in Moscow and during its tour of the country, the sincerity and spirit of genuine friendship it felt allowed the U.S. guests to qualify the visit as historic.

Some congressmen said during the press-conference that they did not have a complete picture of the process of withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of Warsaw Treaty states. In this connection William Dickinson stressed that the Soviet Union was reducing its armed forces and armaments on its own initiative and was not obliged to render an account of it to anyone. Les Aspin said that he was sure that the Soviet Union would fulfil its reduction programme within the fixed time limits.

Congressman Larry Hopkins, Republican of Kentucky, who visited the Chapayevsk plant for the destruction of chemical weapons, expressed the view that the two superpowers should establish closer cooperation to develop modern technologies for the destruction of chemical arms. He evaluated his visit to Chapayevsk as a contribution to the promotion of confidence between the USSR and the United States.

Touching on the prospects of further contacts between the legislators of the two countries, the congressmen advanced quite a few concrete suggestions towards this end. Thus, Frank McCloskey, Democrat of Indiana, moved to set up a permanently functioning bilateral organ charged with such problems as non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and liquidation of chemical armaments, regional conflicts and combatting terrorism. The guests spoke also of the existing possibilities for the realisation of joint projects in the sphere of arms control.

Continuing Pursuit of B-2 Program Criticized

PM2008182789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[K. Sorokin "International Remarks": "Is It Worth Expecting the Worst"]

[Text] Hope for the best but expect the worst, the ancients used to say. The idea is correct in itself, but it is well known that any truth taken to extremes could become an absurdity. It seems as if the U.S. military are not giving this a thought. For 30 years now they have been declaring that the purpose of the U.S. strategic forces is to deter nuclear attack through the threat of a retaliatory nuclear strike. Virtually every U.S. Administration in the postwar period claimed that, under it, the country's military might had reached unprecedented levels. But just in case "deterrence did not work," U.S. military plans incorporated limited, selective, and massive strike options against the USSR. And, really just in case, they maintained the principle of first-use of nuclear weapons.

The top political leadership is right behind the military. What is the result? The U.S. President agreed in 1985 that there can be no victors in a nuclear war. The present head of the White House shares this opinion. Nonetheless the United States, according to a recent report from THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, is continuing to improve the strategy of waging nuclear war against the USSR inherited from the predecessors. This concerns "refinement" of plans for "preemptive" nuclear strike against the USSR for the purpose of "beheading" its military-political leadership and destroying Soviet retaliatory systems. Obviously, just in an extreme case....

It is well known that, for sensationalism's sake, U.S. newspapers at times use unverified information. But I think that this is not a case of mistake. After all, every country's actual military plans can be judged by the composition of its armed forces and its long-term military programs. Let us look at one of today's best known projects—the B-2 ("Stealth") bomber development program.

In its attempts to give it a "seemly" appearance and push it through Congress the U.S. Administration claims that it needs this aircraft for the purposes of power play at talks. Building up arms in order to cut them back jointly with the other side—is this not rather a complex scheme? Is it not rather too detached from life? Especially since both the Pentagon and the White House believe that, in any case, the United States must have the full complement of 132 aircraft in service. From the very start the U.S. position at talks has been formulated in such a way as to give the greatest possible scope for the development of the bomber arm of the strategic "triad."

Maybe the B-2 is meant for operations in conditions of a nonnuclear conflict, since it is known that the bomber can carry conventional weapons. There have been repeated statements by Western experts that the B-2 could perfectly well cope with "special missions" like the U.S. raid on Libya. But it is hard to imagine the point in developing a machine costing $0.5 billion for local conflicts.

We are left with the third option—the use of the B-2 in the event of war against the USSR. Here, according to Western experts, the bomber is capable of performing "unique tasks"—to seek and destroy Soviet mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles and camouflaged and mobile [peredvizhnoy] command centers. A recent failure at the bomber trials posed additional questions about the sense of the "Stealth" program, but it seems that Washington still has no intention of abandoning it.

Of course, for as long as confrontation remains at a high level, states must be concerned with ensuring their own security. But such concern can take different forms. Emphasis could be placed on political means—talks aimed at reducing armament levels; building armed forces so as not to threaten neighbors; moving toward implementation of the principle of reasonable defense sufficiency. This is the USSR's approach.

It is also possible to adopt a different approach. Talks for the sake of talks and an arms buildup for its own sake. This concept obviously belongs to the old arsenal. Is it appropriate in the new conditions? Expecting to reach a new agreement while "backing" one's position with new nuclear arms allegedly for the sake of greater security means creating difficulties at talks and raising doubts about their real value.

Cosmonaut Titov Criticizes SDI Program

LD1908171189 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—A deployment of any weapons in space will pose a threat to universal security, including the security of the United States, Soviet space pilot and Aviation Colonel General German Titov said in an interview published by the soviet newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA today.

"It is naive to think that military hostilities waged against earth from near and outer space will not affect all humanity," Titov went on to say. "The inventions of any new weapon, beginning from a machine-gun and dynamite to a hydrogen bomb and, eventually, the Strategic Defence Initiative [SDI], have always been followed by attempts to pass it off as a means of putting an end to wars."

"Presenting SDI as a defensive and humane system is impossible. If SDI can help shooting down missiles, it can just as well be used in striking at ground targets which already makes it a new type of offensive weapons rather than a defensive system," Titov emphasised.

One of the laws of technology is that the more complicated is the system, the greater is the number of elements of which it consists and the cleverer is their interaction, the less reliable is the system.

According to Titov, such difficult control systems as electronically-controlled space weapons complexes do not rule out the possibility of a reflexed involvement into action of one system by another. Any technical error in one system may cause an instantaneous and even a more active retaliatory reaction from another.

Titov said that one of the SDI shortcomings was that it was possible to break, block or destroy the links between its elements. Besides, there are means to increase the vital capacity of missiles at which the SDI combat systems will be directed. Any multiplication in the number of targets, both primary and false, may confuse the SDI's detection systems. Finally, there are means to neutralise the space based systems designed to destroy strategic ballistic missiles.

"A combination of active and passive means can make the SDI totally ineffective," Titov concludes.

Top Bush Foreign Policy Aides Profiled

18070722 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Shalnev (Washington-New York): "The Bush Team; a Few Strokes on the Portrait of the Administration"]

[Text] Brent Scowcroft moved ahead easily. We were running through the extraordinarily long corridors of the airport in Atlanta, Georgia, trying to get on the last plane

to Nashville, Tennessee that evening. Our flight was late taking off from Washington and was at the end of a long waiting line on the runway, and it arrived so late in Atlanta where there was to be a stopover that there was nothing left to do but run in the hope of making the very last flight.

This forced run with a full set of luggage was won hands down by Brent Scowcroft, who was 60 this year. He was not even breathing hard, he said calmly and evenly as though he had just stood up from a comfortable armchair.

"I run a couple of miles every day," the general with whom I was to speak at a conference on Soviet-American relations arranged by Vanderbilt University in Nashville said, as though he were making excuses for the fact that he was faster than I.

Now one can no longer run with Scowcroft and the general will not be found on regular scheduled flights. His lifestyle has changed sharply since he became the national security adviser for President Bush. But he still looks smart, is well-built, and is ready to argue, and he can win without difficulty over people who are much younger than he is if there arises a need for a cross-country race. In this respect Scowcroft is typical of the Bush administration and its upper echelons. He is typical in that the people around the President are either of an age which in our bureaucracy until recently would have been considered junior—30-40 years old—or people who in spite of their advanced age are unusually energetic, active, and mobile.

Physical endurance is a mandatory condition taking into account the hectic schedule under which the Bush administration works. Beginning naturally with the President himself who, unlike his predecessor Ronald Reagan, who never appeared in the White House Oval Office before 0900 and never stayed there later than 1700, frequently comes to work at 0700 and packs a large amount of all kinds of business into his workday, which sometimes lasts 12 hours and more.

Official Washington has always arisen early and it is not rare for press conferences to be held at 0730. But the Bush administration beats even these records. The first of the daily conferences conducted in the White House begins at 0645. This is a meeting of the personal assistants of John Sununu, White House chief of staff, one of the 8 or 10 people around the President who could generally be called a power, having made the stipulation, of course, that one is speaking about executive power as distinct from legislative or judicial power.

Sununu is 49 years old and is one of the few who by his appearance does not fit very well into the image of energy created by the administration. He is somewhat heavy for his height. But appearances are deceptive. According to the descriptions of those who know him well—both friends and enemies—Sununu is like a dynamo. He is bursting with energy. True, Sununu is impatient, particularly with those who to him—a person with an excellent education, a keen mind, and an inclination for analysis—do not seem knowledgeable enough or not very understanding. One of his great shortcomings is his less than solid acquaintance with Washington's political kitchen.

But it is the general opinion that Sununu—a born politician and, moreover, not an ideologist but a pragmatist—attaches primary importance to the ability and readiness to look for ways of solving problems irrespective of their ideological leanings or "party affiliation." Hence his readiness to learn about Washington life and its peculiarities, with which, incidentally, the Reagan people did not burden themselves excessively and which the Jimmy Carter people almost did not do at all.

Pragmatism, in my opinion, is the feature which more than anything else unites the people who are close to President Bush. And this, in turn, means primarily those people who participate directly in the development and implementation of the foreign and defense policy of the United States. It seems to me that there is only one exception—Vice President Dan Quayle. All of his political life—and it has been fairly extensive for his 42 years—he has stood on the right flank of the Republican Party and his allegiance to the right wing has been demonstrated in practically all issues: economic, political, and social.

I think, however, that in choosing Quayle as his running partner in last year's general elections, Bush took a precisely calculated and highly pragmatic step: Right-wing Republicans were made confident that "our man is in the administration and our ideological cause will not be consigned to oblivion by the liberal-minded Bush." (It is no secret that Bush was and is considered a moderate or even a liberal.) Were it not for this confidence, I think the conservative Republicans would be much more persistent and aggressive in their pressure on the administration. The vice president is something like a protective shield under whose cover the White House has more freedom for maneuvering than it could expect if in Quayle's place there were a person who was considered to be the same kind of pragmatist as the majority of the Bush "team" is.

It is interesting that Quayle has more freedom of action or, rather, freedom of speech than Bush did when he was vice president under Reagan. In his speeches and statements the current vice president frequently presents viewpoints that are much closer to those of the right-wing republicans than to the positions of the centrists in the administration. How does the White House react to this? In the words of Quayle himself, the President encourages him to "say the things that Bush himself cannot say." When these things are said and when they are so critical that the press and politicians demand explanations—this was the case, for example, with the accusations of McCarthyism the vice president made against Democrats in the Senate who rejected John

Tower's nomination for the post of secretary of defense—in these cases the White House responds: "Dan Quayle is presenting his own personal point of view."

I do not have figures that can be considered completely reliable, but I still have reason to think that Quayle was pragmatically assigned the role of ideological lightning rod in such a key issue as the Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI]. It is Quayle who has been the most active proponent of the idea of keeping inviolate the legacy left by the Reagan administration, an idea that does not raise much enthusiasm among a number of influential figures in the current administration, including certain members of the National Security Council. If one analyzes the statements George Bush has made regarding this, one cannot fail to see that they are essentially different in tone from those Ronald Reagan made regarding SDI. Bush sometimes has doubts about the expediency of developing and deploying this system in its full capacity, doubts that were completely foreign to Reagan.

They are also foreign—at least in his public statements—to Quayle, who through his resolute support of SDI somehow neutralizes the nervousness of the right-wing Republicans and those who are actually disturbed by the possible erosion of the Reagan legacy.

It is remarkable, in my view, that the vice president, in spite of his numerous foreign political statements and in spite of his frequent trips abroad, has remained aloof from the process of the development of the foreign policy of the United States. Judging from articles in THE NEW YORK TIMES, this process is enclosed within a two-tier system in which an active role is assigned neither to Quayle nor to his assistants. True, one must recall that by virtue of his status, the vice president is a member of the National Security Council and every Thursday he meets privately with Bush over lunch to discuss current affairs, including foreign political ones. But in the decisionmaking structure that has been formed under Bush, neither the National Security Council nor the private meetings apparently play the kind of role they could play.

In the words of a prominent State Department figure who wishes to remain anonymous, "the majority of our foreign policy, including that with respect to the Soviet Union, is conducted as a result of informal meetings" of the President, Secretary of State James Baker, Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney, Brent Scowcroft, his deputy Robert Gates, and Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Actually, this group concretized and coordinated the arms control initiative presented by Bush in May at the session of the NATO Council in Brussels in an attempt, as was admitted in the White House corridors, to advance an initiative which could compare with the Moscow initiatives in terms of its degree of influence on world public opinion.

There is no doubt that the level of productivity of the conversations between the President and the vice president, which are frequently conducted on the telephone, would be different if, as THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote, these people were not separated by ideological and personal incompatibility. Such conflicts as broke out from time to time in the Reagan administration—between Haig and Weinberger, between Weinberger and Schultz, between Schultz and Casey, and so on and so forth—do not occur in the Bush administration. Possibly this could be explained partially by the fact that under Bush there are no people as colorful as Haig, who headed the State Department under Reagan for a year and a half, as Casey, who was in charge of the Central Intelligence Agency, or as Brzezinski, who was Carter's national security adviser. Not to mention Henry Kissinger.

There are no colorful personalities, but there are also none who obviously try to work mainly for themselves—as was the case with Haig and especially Kissinger, who openly tried to overemphasize his own "I." It is to the credit of the Bush administration that so far—so far—it is working as a team on which there are no people with extreme ambitions or are all prepared to play the leader.

Compatibility also distinguishes the second tier of the system for making foreign political decisions, a tier which has clearer organizational features and includes deputies and assistant leaders of the key federal departments. Hence this structure is called the committee of deputies. It includes Robert Gates as chairman, Undersecretaries of State Robert Kimmitt and Reginald Bartholomew, Assistant Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, Deputy CIA Director Richard Kerr....

Deputies with lower rank but a high degree of professionalism are frequently enlisted for the work of the committee of deputies. Among them is Condoleeza Rice from the Soviet department of the National Security Council [NSC], a black woman who is considered to be one of the most knowledgeable specialists in America on the military policy of the Soviet Union; her boss, Robert Blackwell, who heads the Soviet department of the NSC; Dennis Ross and Robert Zoellick, two of the closest associates of the secretary of state who have so much influence that, as regular State Department officers frequently complain, they have taken over the functions of several State Department offices at once. This, incidentally, is a curious detail: While under Bush the White House staff has essentially lost the influence it had under Reagan and has slipped to second place after the cabinet, in the State Department the picture is different. Under James Baker there is something like a kitchen cabinet of his trusted advisers who worked under him even when he was secretary of the treasury in the Reagan administration and on whom the secretary of state relies completely, frequently overlooking the advice and recommendations of the regular officers. Yet the "strategic policy review" of the foreign and defense policy of the United States begun by Bush on the initiative of Brent

Scowcroft was carried out and in the main areas completed under conditions whereby the positions of the chiefs of a number of regional desks of the State Department, including the Europe and Canada desk, which "takes care of" the Soviet Union, have been left vacant. Reagan's people have left and new ones have not yet been appointed.

The "strategic policy review" has turned out to be a slow process. But I would not try to explain it by the forced inertia of the State Department staff. The causes, it seems to me, are different. The slowness has been brought about to a considerable degree by the caution with which people around the President, particularly Scowcroft, Cheney, and Gates, react to what is going on in the Soviet Union. And the caution is brought about by the lack of certainty they feel, as they say, regarding how far and how deep the process of revolutionary restructuring begun in the USSR will go.

The most candid of all in his public statements has been Secretary of Defense Cheney, who once predicted Gorbachev's fall, which Bush himself then quickly disavowed. It would be easy, following the old pattern, to call Cheney a "hawk" or at best a "zealous pessimist." But let us be honest: In the United States there are quite a few politicians who, while wishing all kinds of success for perestroyka and being convinced that it is in the interests of the entire world, including America, are not firmly convinced that its success is guaranteed. And for them Cheney's position is not a manifestation of "hawkishness" but of pragmatism, although they undoubtedly must not discount the circumstance that the current secretary of defense, in terms of the views he displays actively every day as a member of Congress, is more in the right wing of the Republican Party than in the center.

"We have the responsibility," said Robert Gates, deputy presidential adviser for national security, in a NEW YORK TIMES interview, "for advising the President to make sure his policy is bold enough and reacts to the changes taking place in the Soviet Union, but is not so bold as to be irresponsible."

The Bush administration is basically a "reactive" administration: It is more likely to react to events than to stay ahead of them. Such is the nature of Bush himself, both as a person and as a state figure. As I have repeatedly been told by people who have had the opportunity to observe the President at fairly close range—American journalists at the White House—the longstanding "reactivity" is augmented in Bush by a quality he has acquired since he became President and has been given the long-awaited opportunity to make all decisions for himself: caution. Bush is frequently motivated by the fear that a decision he is about to make will turn out to be catastrophic, will cause "bad press," or will be criticized by Congress. Hence the Bush method: It is best to think not twice, not four times, but twenty times before doing anything.

But after the thinking is done the decision comes quickly as was the case with the proposal concerning conventional weapons which was in the process of preparation for a long time but was adopted, bypassing ordinary bureaucratic channels, during a weekend the President spent with his closest advisers at his family home in Maine. The same thing, incidentally, was the case with another foreign political initiative which the majority of political commentators consider to be another impressive achievement of the Bush administration. I have in mind the agreement reached between the White House and Congress on how to render assistance to the Nicaraguan contras. James Baker, who inspired and executed this initiative, managed completely without the State Department staff, acting through a small group of his own trusted friends, through his "brain trust," and with, of course, the understanding and support of the first foreign political tier. And it seems to me quite appropriate to ask the question which one hears in Washington: If the career bureaucrats were used more actively, if these decisions were passed through the levels considered necessary by the staff, would there be these initiatives, and if so would they be too dry or, on the contrary, too watered down?

James Baker is one of the very few people in the Bush administration who, in spite of his loyalty to the President, is more than ready to have his name written in large letters in the history of American administrations. He does not have such a penetrating vision of the world as, say, Kissinger and he could learn something about in-depth analysis from Brzezinski and about foreign political experience from General Haig. But he is quick to master new things, he prepares carefully for negotiations he is to conduct, and he is a brilliant speaker. This is the term used in political America to designate people who know all the necessary ins and outs, who can make and maintain connections, who are capable of giving in where necessary and being rigid where this is required. Baker has a great deal of authority on Capitol Hill. One would be hard pressed to find members of Congress who could sincerely say anything negative about Baker as a secretary.

On the other hand, Brent Scowcroft is thoroughly professional with almost 40 years of experience in foreign policy and the sphere of national security behind him who, as THE WASHINGTONIAN magazine writes, seems more like a scholar than a retired general (incidentally, Scowcroft, a West Point graduate, once taught Russian history and political science in military academies).

He clearly makes no claim to a place in history. It seems to me that Scowcroft sees his function as coordinating the activity of various departments involved in foreign policy and national security—for which, actually, his post as national security adviser was initially created. It is not his function to put forth initiatives. His function is to evaluate them and compare them with others.

Only half a year has passed since Bush came into office. Much is still only in the stage of formation and hints can remain merely hints without becoming concrete phenomena and tendencies. And conversely something that could never have been suspected might appear. But the main thing is that under the current President there has never been anything that might be called a crisis situation—either in the foreign or in the domestic sphere—that could give the administration the opportunity to shine or, conversely, to show its dullness, or could give observers the opportunity to compile a precise portrait.

The art, it is true, lies not on overcoming a crisis, but in not allowing one to occur.

Human Rights Conference With U.S. Ends

LD1908132589 Moscow TASS in English 1238 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] San Francisco August 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Algunov:

The right to live in a non-contaminated environment is now becoming the basic condition for mankind's survival. This is the conclusion made by the participants in a Soviet-American conference on human rights which worked for almost two weeks at University of California, Berkeley.

Prominent lawyers and public figures from the two countries proposed that a world treaty on environmental protection be elaborated under the UN auspices, and a relevant international commission be formed.

It was noted that progress in science and technology has led civilisation to new frontiers of knowledge but at the same time created the danger to mankind's existence. Huge arsenals of nuclear weapons, accidents at military and civilian nuclear structures, toxic industrial discharges—all that carry the danger of partial or full destruction of life. Soil, water and atmosphere poisoning can become in the next decade the most formidable problem to mankind, conference coordinator, Professor Bertram Gross, said.

Further progress will largely depend on the success of the public openness policy in the Soviet Union and realism in the foreign policy course of the United States.

Scientists of the two countries believe that the human rights problem can and should become an area of cooperation between the major powers of the world. The signs of the positive process can be seen now.

Different views on the problem of human rights in the USSR and the U.S.A. were expressed at the conference, and heated discussions were held.

The participants unanimously stated that such meetings should be held on a regular basis in the future.

General recommendations to the governments of the two countries on consolidation of individual legal guarantees were drawn up. The international human rights movement was analysed, and it was noted that it harmoniously fits into the world movement against a nuclear threat, for prosperity of civilisation.

The conference officially inaugurated a joint scientific programme "dialogue on human rights and the future". The project is designed for long cooperation between the USSR Academy of Sciences' State and Law Institute and the American Council of Learned Societies.

U.S. Nuclear Expert Views Relations With Public

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[Editorial Report] Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian for 11 August 1989 carries on page 4 an 1100-word interview by S. Panasenko with Dr. Walter Lowenstein, president of the American Nuclear Society, entitled "Don't Forget To Talk With People." Lowenstein describes the steps he would need to follow if he wanted to build a nuclear power plant in the United States. He describes the procedure for filing an environmental impact statement, the importance of convincing local officials and public opinion of the benefits of having the plant in their state or county, and the need to explain to people, using facts and figures, that there is currently no real alternative to nuclear energy. "They will understand you," Lowenstein says.

China

PRC Scientists Visit Dubna Nuclear Institute

OW1908233789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] The Joint Institute for Nuclear Research is located in Dubna, which is some 130 km north of Moscow by the Volga River. The 11 socialist member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance are members of the institute. The PRC was also a member of the institute from 1956—when the institute was founded—to 1965. Chinese scientists stopped participating in the work at Dubna as of 1965. A few days ago, some scientists from China's Research Institute of Atomic Energy Sciences came to Dubna. They included Prof Wang Ganchang, who worked as deputy director of the Joint Institute for Nuclear Research from 1956 to 1960; Prof (Ding Datao), who has also served in Dubna for several years; and (Wang Guogang), a young expert who is on his first trip to Dubna.

Prof Wang Ganchang and his Chinese colleagues were received at the Joint Institute for Nuclear Research on 8 August. Academician (Kishi), director of the Joint Institute for Nuclear Research and Hungarian scientist, briefed the Chinese scientists on the institute's activities and its scientific and technological achievements.

During their talks, it was noted that Chinese experts made important contributions to theoretical research and experiments during their stay in Dubna from 1956 to 1965.

In his interview by this station's reporter, Prof Wang Ganchang said that he was glad to revisit the Joint Institute for Nuclear Research, where he carried out some of his scientific activities after so many years had passed. He was also delighted to meet his old colleagues, with whom Chinese scientists worked to produce certain results during the early years after the founding of the institute.

The Chinese physicists will also visit the institute's nuclear reaction laboratory and the neutron physics laboratory, where two fast neutron pulsed reactors are located. The Chinese guests will also visit the high energy laboratory, which is famous for its synchrocyclotron, which has been used by Prof Wang Ganchang, Prof (Ding Datao), and many other Chinese experts to carry out scientific research. The Chinese physicists also plan to visit Serpukhov High Energy Physics Institute in suburban Moscow, which has the largest proton accelerator in the Soviet Union.

Biryukova Meets Chinese Women's Official

LD1908023689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1713 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 18 Aug (TASS)—Today A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers received Chen Muhua, member of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, deputy chairman of the All-China National People's Congress Standing Committee, and chairman of the All-China Federation of Women.

In a conversation which proceeded in a warm and comradely atmosphere, the guest was briefed on the practical implementation of perestroyka in the country, and on the measures being taken by the USSR Government to improve the situation of women and to care for the family, mothers, and children. Other issues of social policy of mutual interest were also discussed.

Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador in the USSR, took part in the conversation.

Educational Cooperation With PRC Discussed

OW1808122489 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 6 Aug 89

[From the "Along the Road of Friendship and Cooperation" program]

[Text] [Announcer] Today, we shall continue our discussion on Sino-Soviet educational cooperation. (Chukeshenov), deputy chairman of the USSR Committee for People's Education, will take part in the discussion. He led a Soviet delegation to Beijing to attend the third meeting of the Sino-Soviet Joint Group on Education. We asked him to talk about the outcome of the meeting and the progress of bilateral cooperation over the past year.

(Chukeshenov) said: [(Chukeshenov) heard briefly, speaking in Russian, fading into Chinese translation] The meeting pointed out that rapid progress has been made in our cooperation. During the last school year alone, 625 Chinese students studied and did research work at 73 institutes of higher learning in 13 cities. This year, we shall accept about 600 Chinese students. In 1989, 320 Soviet students will go to China to further their studies. This number is roughly equivalent to the number of students who went to China last year. Another important achievement of the cooperation is that 30 pairs of institutes of higher learning in the two countries have established direct ties and the two sides have begun to exchange scholars and textbooks and to conduct joint scientific and technological research. Initial results of this joint scientific and technological research will be achieved in the near future.

[Announcer] In spite of this, the work group pointed out that the scientific and technological potential of institutes of higher learning in the two countries has not been fully tapped. There are broad prospects for developing direct cooperation between institutes of higher learning.

(Chukeshenov) continued: [(Chukeshenov) heard briefly, speaking in Russian, fading into Chinese translation] Direct ties in the sphere of science are very important. It is impossible to ignore the potential in this sphere. We went to Qinghua University in Beijing. There, we saw modern laboratories and equipment and acquainted ourselves with major scientific research projects. Currently, Qinghua University is cooperating with Leningrad Engineering Institute. It also wants to establish ties with several institutes in Moscow, including, for example, the (Oman) School of Technology under the Electrical Power College. I believe that this kind of cooperation is also good for Soviet experts. Joint research and international division of work will benefit both sides. Cooperation in the sphere of scientific and technological research will elevate cooperation between the two countries to a new level.

[Announcer] Did the meeting of Sino-Soviet Joint Group on Education solve some existing problems, including the question of giving equal recognition to the diplomas issued by Soviet and Chinese schools?

(Chukeshenov) said: [(Chukeshenov) heard briefly, speaking in Russian, fading into Chinese translation] Now, we have decided, through negotiation, to recognize the diplomas obtained by Soviet and Chinese experts, as well as the academic degrees they achieved in their own countries. As for giving equal recognition to the diplomas, this is a very complicated issue. The reasons are that every country has its own characteristics and

demands for training experts. Therefore, we have decided to set up a group of experts to come up with its own suggestions on this matter.

[Announcer] We would also like to discuss plans for further expanding cooperation. As you all know, the two countries will begin, for the first time ever, to develop relations in primary and secondary education and exchange experts in the near future. What are the specific plans in this regard?

(Chukeshenov) said: [(Chukeshenov) heard briefly, speaking in Russian, fading into Chinese translation] Between 1989 and 1990, experts of secondary and vocational education from the two nations will hold discussions. A decision on the specific orientation of bilateral cooperation will be made at these discussion meetings. At present, we still do not have a thorough understanding of the restructuring of secondary and vocational education. At the same time, Chinese educators also want to know more about school reforms in our country and draw useful lessons from them. This is only possible after the Soviet Union and China have solved the common problem of [word indistinct] in the area of education science. Cooperation between publishers of language textbooks in the two countries and between the SOVIET TEACHER'S NEWS and China's JIAOYUBAO [EDUCATION NEWS] will help solve this problem.

[Announcer] As for cooperation between institutes of higher learning, the number of students and experts sent by China to study in the USSR will increase. For example, the number of Chinese citizens studying in the USSR will reach 1,100 in 1991; 4 years after that, the number will reach 2,000.

Northeast Asia

Kaifu Cabinet, Relations With Japan Viewed

OW2008010089 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] Concerning the Kaifu cabinet and Soviet-Japanese relations, Radio Moscow commentator Dmitriyev writes as follows:

During the few days before he was elected president of the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan, Japanese Prime Minister Kaifu had already stated his intention of improving relations with the Soviet Union. Every new Japanese prime minister has indicated such a wish. How will such wishes be transformed into concrete programs this time? Certain answers will probably be given to this question at the Soviet-Japanese foreign ministerial talks to be held at the 44th UN General Assembly scheduled for New York in September. There seem to be hopes for certain, though little, advances for now.

First of all, such expectations are based on the fact that the Kaifu cabinet has inherited a comparatively better heritage in the field of the Japanese-Soviet relations than in many other fields from its predecessor. A working group has been studying the issue of signing of a peace treaty. And the two nations have reached an accord on the preparations for General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to Japan. Moreover, Japan has indicated its intention to study signing a treaty on environmental protection. And the Soviet Union has increased the number of places where visits to Japanese graves are permitted. In general, an atmosphere has been created for the two sides to further promote dialogue and develop mutual understanding.

Thus, we can say that the heritages the Kaifu Cabinet has inherited are fairly good as a whole. The point at issue now is to make correct use of these heritages. Japan's current position can be judged by new Foreign Minister Nakayama's remarks on Soviet-Japanese relations. As has been expected, Foreign Minister Nakayama reiterated there would be no changes in Japan's uncompromising position on the territorial issue. What is noteworthy at the same time is Foreign Minister Nakayama's thinking that the changing international situation as well as the Soviet Union's interest in Japan's technology will be able to force the Soviet Government to make concessions on the territorial issue. Does not this thinking indicate the Japanese leadership's ideas to impose pressure on the Soviet Union under the pretext of its economic power and then to wait for the fruits to become ripe and fall down by themselves? They may cherish such hopes but it will certainly be of no avail.

First of all, Japan should not overestimate the Soviet Union's interest in Japanese advanced technology. We fully understand that our domestic problems can be solved only through our own effort, not to mention the fact that many other partners in the world strongly want to have mutually beneficial economic cooperation. It should be understood that any improvement in relations with the Soviet Union can be achieved only on the basis of equality. Then, concerning the Japanese Government's expectations for the changing world situation, it should not be forgotten that the Soviet Union itself is the nation where the forward-looking changes have originated.

Nevertheless, we would like to welcome Foreign Minister Nakayama's remarks that endorse the possibility of development. For example, Foreign Minister Nakayama held that cultural exchanges should be further promoted and stated that there would be no barriers in promoting cooperation in fields unrelated to ideology. His remarks serve as an endorsement of Japan's position that Soviet-Japanese relations will not eventually end up in the territorial issue alone. This position can be observed in the remarks made by high-ranking Japanese officials during the past few months.

Such an approach has enabled Japan to pursue a more amicable policy toward the Soviet Union and it certainly can be regarded as sensible. This is because if dialogue is

limited to the issue that has caused differences in views, the dialogue will sooner or later end up in a deadlock. The Soviet Union certainly does not want it, and perhaps, Japan does not either. For example, Foreign Minister Nakayama once stated that there should be as many chances as possible to carry on dialogue so as to achieve further mutual understanding.

The process to promote mutual understanding will be reactivated soon. Consultations on UN activities will be held between the Soviet and Japanese foreign ministries toward the end of this month. And the consulations between the Soviet and Japanese vice foreign ministers as well as the talks between the foreign ministers will be held in New York next month. Moreover, the Week of Japanese Culture activities opened in Moscow today [18 August] in accordance with a previously signed agreement. Joint economic committee will start its sessions on 23 August. We hope that all these activities will be of significance to what has already been achieved in the promotion of the Soviet-Japanese relations and we also expect that the two sides will make an effort to promote further development.

Japanese Military Threat in Southeast Asia Viewed
OW2108062789 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Station observer (Linnik) commentary: "The Hour of Retribution Came"]

[Text] Forty-four years ago, on 8 August 1945, the Soviet Government declared war against militarist Japan. The following is a commentary by station observer (Linnik) on this topic. He writes:

By declaring war against Japan, the USSR fulfilled an obligation it promised to undertake at the February 1945 Yalta Conference of the heads of government of the three powers—the Soviet Union, the United States, and Great Britain—the promise that the USSR would take action against Japan 2 or 3 months after Hitler's Germany was crushed. Japan's neighbors, the USSR included, had been threatened by Japan for decades. In the fall of 1931, Japan took over northeast China and built there strategic bases for invading the USSR. In 1937 Japanese troops started to intrude into central China, making it a place for launching its war in the Far East. In December 1941 Japanese troops launched an undeclared war against major U.S. and British bases in the Pacific.

After consolidating its domination at sea, the Japanese military command sent Japanese landing troops to land on the Malacca peninsula, the Philippine archipelago, and Indonesia—which was known at the time as the Netherlands East Indies—as they had planned and without experiencing any particular resistance. They also sent expeditionary armies to various (?littoral) regions in the south. Within 6 months, the Japanese militarists took over Hong Kong, Malaya, Singapore, Burma, the Philippines, Indonesia, and other areas.

The Japanese authorities established on the territories of the Asia-Pacific regions and countries a system of brutal suppression, terrorism, and mass slaughter of civilians. The Southeast Asian press recently published documents concerning the Japanese occupiers' systematic slaughter of Chinese people in Malaya during World War II. These newspapers cited the following figures as an example: During a 2-week suppression, a company under the 11th Regiment of the 5th Japanese Division bayoneted some 600 Chinese people to death. In Nanjing, Japanese militarists wiped out 300,000 innocent Chinese people. In Singapore, the Japanese occupiers there killed more than 50,000 peaceful residents. In the Philippines, 130,000 local people were killed by Japanese soldiers.

Under these circumstances, the Soviet Union's declaration of war against Japan and its participation in stopping and crushing Japanese militarism not only secured the Soviet border regions, but also liberated many Asian countries.

Nationalism and militarism have again started coming to life in Japan today. This process is accompanied by systematic and constant efforts to expand Japanese military bases. Controlling Japan's military budget within 1 percent of the gross national product has become a thing of the past and apparently there are no plans to reimpose the ceiling. Japan's military expenditures are definitely the third highest in the world. Recently the Japanese Defense Agency has finished drafting the national military budgets for the 1990 fiscal year [words indistinct] compared with 1989, military appropriations will increase 6.35 percent. If the defense agency's demand is met, Japan's annual military expenses will exceed 4,000 billion yen for the first time after the war.

Meanwhile, attention has been diverted to improving Japan's ground, naval, and air forces according to plan and to the issue of actually building a fleet of aircraft carriers. All this has made the people of Asia-Pacific countries ill at ease. These countries have personally experienced what Japanese militarism was.

Military Delegation Ends Visit to DPRK
LD1808215189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1156 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Pyongyang, 18 Aug (TASS)—The official friendly visit to the DPRK by a Soviet military delegation, led by Army General I.M. Tretyak, commander-in-chief of the Air Defense Forces and USSR deputy defense minister, has ended.

The Soviet Armed Forces delegation was received by Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee. In the course of the ensuing conversation, the feelings of friendship between the peoples and the armies of the USSR and the DPRK were reaffirmed.

The delegation was also received by O Chin-u, vice marshal of the Korean People's Army and DPRK minister of the Peoples Armed Forces.

Trade Union Sends Message to DPRK Counterpart

SK1908014389 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Text] The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions sent a congratulatory message to the Central Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea on the occasion of the 44th anniversary of Korea's liberation.

The congratulatory message under the name of the Soviet workers, peasants, and the people expressed warm fraternal greetings and sincere congratulations to the working people and trade unions of the DPRK.

Sokolov Delegation Visits Ulaanbaatar Garrison

PM2108102989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Aug 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Meeting at Ulaanbaatar"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 16 Aug—A meeting has been held here between a USSR Defense Ministry delegation headed by Marshal of the Soviet Union S.L. Sokolov and generals and other officers of the Mongolian People's Army and servicemen of the Ulaanbaatar garrison. It was devoted to the 50th anniversary to the victory of Soviet and and Mongolian troops over Japanese aggressors at Halhin Gol.

Colonel General J. Yondon, Mongolian minister of defense, took part in the meeting.

Received by Batmonth

LD1908123489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Today is marked with many important international events, among which is the ending of the celebrations held in Mongolia on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet Union and Mongolian troops at Halhin Gol. A report from Ulaanbaatar says that the delegation of the USSR Ministry of Defense, headed by Marshal of the Soviet Union Sokolov and other Soviet guests, was received by Batmonh, the Mongolian leader. The meeting passed in an atmosphere of cordiality and warmth.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Khmer Rouge Position on Cambodia Criticized

LD1808204789 Moscow TASS in English 2026 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Paris August 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Viktor Khrekov:

According to French press reports, a document giving far-fetched figures concerning an alleged presence of 1,250,00 Vietnamese in Cambodia, the Vietnamese who had moved there during the past decade, has been circulated by the Khmer opposition at the Paris international conference on Cambodia. The "Khmer Rouge" are now demanding that the question of expulsion of all Vietnamese settlers from Cambodia should be resolved along with the withdrawal of Vietamese settlers from Cambodia should be resolved along with withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. How do things stand in actual fact? There were about 500,000 Vietnamese settlers in Cambodia prior to the 1970 military coup, which was repeatedly mentioned by Prince Norodom Sihanouk himself, according to information from representatives of the state of Cambodia taking part in the conference.

Those settlers were mainly factory workers, rubber plantation laborers, craftsmen, and fishermen. So, the problem of Vietnamese settlers in Cambodia arose much earlier than 1979.

Vietnamese nationals were subjected to mass repression and persecutions under the Lon Nol regime and particularly during the Pol Pot rule. Therefore part of them had to flee to Vietnam and the rest to to Thailand and third countries.

Following the overthrow of the Pol Potist regime in 1979, about 80,000 refugees returned to Cambodia, settled in secure places and took up economic activities. Vietnamese work mainly in the field of construction, follow crafts and engage in animal husbandry.

Unlike 1970, there are no seasonal workers at rubber plantations any longer now. This was confirmed in a statement for the press by former Cambodian Prime Minister In Tam who recently visited the country at the invitation of the government of the state of Cambodia.

Foreigners, including the staff of UN institutions in Phnom Penh, have never seen a large number of Vietnamese in the capital, whereas the opposition speaks of a 150,000-strong colony.

The Government of the State of Cambodia had never allowed foreigners, including Vietnamese, to settle illegally or become citizens of Cambodia. Not a single country has a law under which settlers would be regarded as colonisers and would be expelled from the country. Why does the opposition not demand the expulsion of

Chinese, of whom there are now 160,000 in Cambodia? What would happen if France, the United States or other countries begin to expel Khmers residing there?

The opposition leaders are also indignant at the fact that Vietnamese settlers marry Cambodian citizens. But cannot they themselves or other opposition figures be accused of interethnic marriages?. Sinhanouk, for example, married a Frenchwoman. Historically, mixed marriages have been a usual phenomenon in Cambodia.

Khmers and Vietnamese have different traditions and customs but they can live together like friends, brothers and neighbours. Any version of a settlement should not turn Khmers into the enemies of Vietnamese, Laos or Thais.

The Government of the State of Cambodia believes that it is necessary attentively to study and verify arising mutual suspicions or unclear issues which should not be turned into an obstacles to political solutions or used as a pretext for drumming up hysteria and stirring up war.

It is known to the whole world that in 1975-1978 Pol Pot declared more than three million Cambodians to be foreigners or their lackeys and cruelly did away with them.

At present within the framework of a settlement, the Pol Potists are preparing ground for barbarous actions against another 1,250,000 Cambodian people, seeking to drive them away from their homes, deprive them of their families, and even take away their lives.

Thai Interior Minister Interviewed During Visit

BK2108072189 Moscow in Thai to Thailand 1100 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Interview with Thai Interior Minister Police General Praman Adireksan by unidentified interviewer on his 1-8 August visit to the Soviet Union: "From History File on Soviet-Thai Relations"; date, place of interview not given—recorded]

[Text] [Question] Our first question is: What are the purposes of your current visit to the Soviet Union?

[Answer] I am visiting the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet minister of internal affairs. The invitation for a visit to the Soviet Union was extended to the Thai Interior Ministry, especially to me. It has long been my wish to visit this country because the Soviet Union and Thailand have maintained relations for a long time. I assume that you know that our relations date back even before the Russian revolution, since the time of the tsars, when our King Rama V paid a visit to the Soviet Union to strengthen friendly relations. Afterwards, he sent his son to study in Russia and the prince took a Russian woman for his wife. This is an example.

After the Soviet revolution, Thailand has never harbored any real antagonistic feeling toward the Soviet Union. Despite the fact that we have different administrative systems, Thailand always holds that our long-standing relations remain the same. It only happened that we had temporarily suspended our contacts. After the resumption of relations, two Thai prime ministers, at least, visited the Soviet Union. They are: General Kriangsak Chamanan and General Prem Tinsulanon. Prior to that, our trade missions as well as officials regularly visited the Soviet Union. I hope you are aware of that. Most recently, the crown prince of Thailand visited the Soviet Union. This is evidence that relations between Thailand and the Soviet Union remain close all the time. On my current visit to the Soviet Union, it again has to be attributed our relations which have continued for a long time. On the opportunity of this visit, I have the feeling that I see my old friends once again.

[Question] Are there any special plans for talks or meetings during your current visit that you could tell us about?

[Answer] There is nothing special for this visit. It is an official visit of a routine kind. We exchange visits in order to be able to hold discussions and exchange views. This is the purpose of our visit. After meeting with the Soviet minister of internal affairs, we observed police work and municipal work in the Soviet Union.

[Question] Who did you meet when you visited Leningrad and Minsk?

[Answer] In Leningrad, I met the deputy police director general. We stayed there for only 2 nights before leaving for Minsk, and most of the time we observed and exchanged views on police work. We went on some sight-seeing trips and then left for Minsk. In Minsk, we met the interior minister and the deputy prime minister of Minsk.

[Question] What areas interest you concerning the responsibilities of the Soviet Police and Ministry of Internal Affairs?

[Answer] What interests me is how can we make the people happy. In this, we share the same purpose. That is, we are trying to make our policemen well loved by the people. This is the same in the Soviet Union. As we already share a common purpose, we did not have to go into the detail in discussing about this matter.

[Question] The following question must be of a great interest to Moscow Radio listeners. At present, the police have lost considerable popularity with the public. From your observations of our police work during the visit, do you think there is a big difference between the police in the Soviet Union and Thailand in terms of their duties and relationship with the people?

[Answer] I do not want to make a comparison on this kind of thing. What we can say is that policemen are special people, I said special, and not superb. Why? Because they are everywhere, in every street, doing their work. They are exposed to sun, rain and snow. They have to endure those difficult conditions. Secondly, they are required to be strong mentally, to know how to suppress their emotions and refrain from quarreling with the people. They must be polite. Third, they must have tact in making conversations or handling disputes. Most important, they must know the law because they do not have time to consult law books each time they must make arrests of the people in the street. They must be well versed and must have common sense to help them make good judgment in making arrests. It could be right or wrong in terms of law. Therefore, I said policemen are special people. Ordinary people do not have the quality that policemen have. Because they are special, we must give them a salary that is worth the physical and moral sacrifices that they make in performing their duties for the public welfare. This is important. If policemen have small income, they will have to find ways to compensate. Is this true? This is the same everywhere. The same in Thailand, too. In Thailand, I have just raised the salaries for our policemen. Anyway, when compared with workers, policemen sometimes earn less than workers. Even in the Soviet Union, I believe workers earn more than policemen. Well in such a condition, how can people expect policemen to behave properly? We must be fair with them. What I meant when I said that they are special people is: They are required to keep themselves calm and they must know their duties. Policemen must perform their duties with honesty and a sense of self-sacrifice. They must be ready to make all kinds of sacrifices for the people. They must win the love of the people.

[Question] What activities have you observed in the Soviet Union which you think can be adopted for use in Thailand?

[Answer] We will have to study a lot more concerning this because our countries have different administrative systems. Anyway, the world is applauding President Gorbachev for his statement on arms reduction as well as for the Soviet peace policy. In other words, it is time to stop fighting now, and preparations for war should therefore be abandoned. We should instead focus on trade now. This is for what the people are applauding him. Especially in Thailand, we do not want to see any fighting. We have declared our policy to transform battlefields into marketplaces, and we are implementing this policy at present. Well, on our current trip, we have observed work in the Soviet Union and exchanged views with Soviet officials on this matter.

[Question] What are the chances for cooperation between the Thai and Soviet Interior Ministries?

[Answer] Because of the great distance between our two countries, cooperation would have to be on international matters, such as narcotics control. People-to-people cooperation would be very difficult because of the distances involved. Visits by the people of the two countries will require approval by their immigration authorities; the practice is the same for both countries. Narcotics is an illegal matter. Thailand is serious about narcotics prevention. This can be seen in the in the prevention measures taken at the nine border crossings at the border with Burma.

[Question] How successful is you current visit to the Soviet Union?

[Answer] I would rather not talk about how successful my visit has been because the two countries are friends. As I said earlier, relations between the two countries date back a long way. This is why I have never paid attention to the differences between our administrative systems during my current visit and in my meetings with Soviet personalities. We only think about the continuing friendship between the two peoples.

[Question] A final question, what is your impression of your visit? What did you like and not like?

[Answer] Frankly speaking, during my current visit I found that the Soviet people have greater earning power compared to before. The cost of living, such as housing, electricity, and water bills, has not increased at all. The prices of articles are not expensive.

[Question] Thank you very much.

New Philippine Foreign Debt Agreement Viewed

HK1908050389 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 18 Aug 89

[By commentator Anatoliy Aleksandrov]

[Text] A meeting in New York between a Philippine delegation and representatives from commercial banks has produced preliminary results. More details from our commentator Anatoliy Aleksandrov:

The Philippines will receive a new loan—this is the primary content of an agreement worked out during a week-long meeting. Come September, this agreement will be reinforced by new agreements. Hence, the future of the Philippine economy depends on this decision.

Of the Philippine foreign debt totaling $28 billion, half comes from foreign commercial banks. Interest payments alone will take a big portion of the government budget as well as one-third of the country's export earnings. According to economists, the Philippines needs bank credits worth $1.7 billion.

Meanwhile, new loans will be granted to the Philippines within the framework of the so-called Brady Plan. The Philippines is the second country, after Mexico, which will henceforth be required to fulfill certain conditions. The gist of the Brady Plan, as authored by U.S. Treasury

Secretary Nicholas Brady, is as follows: Banks will write off earlier credit and interest payments, with a subsidy for write-offs from International Monetary Fund and World Bank reserves. With the help of new loans and the partial write-off of loans, debtor countries are simply buying time to temporarily escape from their heavy debt burdens. This is what the Philippines is hoping to accomplish as stated by the head of the Philippine delegation to the New York meeting, Jose Fernandez of the Central Bank of the Philippines.

The measures are appropriate for short term purposes but in the long run, problems will emerge. The Philippine Government will be forced to enter into compromises with foreign capitalists as usually happens when the money comes from the IMF and the World Bank. In fact, money provided by these financial institutions as subsidies for writing off part of their debts cannot be considered as aid to debtor countries. This is the scheme under which the Philippines will operate. The result is that Manila is again borrowing money and under the present system of debt repayment, the cycle will not end.

ASEAN Conference Opens in Manila 21 Aug

LD2108094589 Moscow TASS in English 0903 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Manila August 21 TASS—By TASS correspondent Sergey Almazov:

Economic cooperation, security, interaction in tackling social problems, and other matters concerning interregional relations will be discussed by the delegates to the tenth conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Organisation of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which opened in the Philippine capital today.

The conference is being attended by 87 parliamentarians from five ASEAN countries, with the exception of Brunei which has no parliament, as well as by a group of observers from Australia, Canada, China, and the Soviet Union.

The Soviet delegation is led by Fikryat Tabeyev, people's deputy of the USSR and first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers.

The conference is being held under the "ASEAN and the 21st Century" motto. Therefore the range of items on the agenda is rather wide.

The delegates are expected to discuss prospects for the establishment of a common market in Southeast Asia after the pattern of that in Western Europe, and will consider measures to stop the smuggling of narcotics in the region and the use of children's labour in production.

The Philippine side insists on putting on the agenda the question of foreign military presence in the region, the question which has become particularly acute after Singapore suggested stationing U.S. military facilities on its territory.

Ramon Mitra, speaker of the House of Representatives of the Philippine Congress, who is also the chairman of the conference, said Singapore's controversial suggestion should become one of the central subjects of discussion at the forum.

"We hope," he said, "that the conference will make concrete decisions aimed at strengthening peace in the region."

Observer Hails ASEAN as 'Positive Force'

OW2108072089 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Station observer Barsov's talk: "A Positive Force"]

[Text] A meeting was held in Bangkok in August 1967 to discuss the founding of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations [ASEAN]. On 8 August 1967, the foreign ministers of the five founders—Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and the Philippines—signed a declaration on the founding of the ASEAN. It was declared in the document, which is also known as the Bangkok Declaration, that ASEAN was an effective organization, and 8 August 1967 became the ASEAN birthday. Since its inception 22 years ago, ASEAN has become a very active and influential political force in the Asia-Pacific Region. Now, please stay tuned for a talk written by Barsov, an observer of this station:

The objective and the mission of the newly-founded regional organization can be observed in Article 2 of the Bangkok Declaration: The organization, basing on the spirit of equality and partnership, will make concerted efforts to accelerate the region's economic, social, and cultural progress.

ASEAN members also stated that they would make efforts to promote peace and stability in the region and observe the principles of the United Nations Charter.

As is emphasized in the very first official commentary of the founding of the ASEAN, it is not an military alliance, nor is it a security pact. This position has been endorsed by the public of countries in the Asia-Pacific Region, but it has caused conspicuous dissatisfaction in Washington. The United States has obstinately tried various ways to turn ASEAN into a military bloc, linked with the Pentagon, and it has yet to give up this attempt.

The reference in the preamble of the declaration to the temporary nature of foreign military bases in ASEAN countries also has displeased the United States. While the British have withdrawn from their military bases in Singapore and Malaysia, the United States has kept its

bases in the Philippines for more than 20 years. In February 1976—or nearly 10 years after the founding of the ASEAN—heads of state and government of ASEAN met for the first time in Bali, Indonesia. There, ASEAN was given the role of a political organization, in addition to being a social, economic, and cultural organization. The Bali Declaration reiterates that ASEAN states are loyal to the proposal presented in Kuala Lumpur several years ago to turn Southeast Asia into a peaceful, free, and neutral region, and it incorporated (?the proposal) as a part of the declaration, adding the provision of turning Southeast Asia into a nuclear-free region. The significant and positive changes in recent years have also produced impact on ASEAN activities. Incidentally, the number of ASEAN members has increased, with the participation of Brunei.

Countries in the Asia-Pacific Region speak highly of the ASEAN efforts to alleviate international tension and reduce armament. The ASEAN has made significant contributions to the cause of eliminating regional conflicts in that region and, in particular, to the political settlement of the Cambodian conflict, which affects the situation in Southeast Asia as a whole. If not resolved positively, the issue of turning Southeast Asia into a peaceful, free, and neutral region is out of the question.

The Soviet people are pleased to know that contacts between the USSR and ASEAN states in various fields have conspicuously broadened in recent years. These contacts not only have been expanded in the political sphere, but also in the trade, economic, and cultural spheres as well.

ASEAN countries understand and are satisfied with the Soviet initiatives aimed at ensuring security in the Asia-Pacific Region. You all know that these initiatives have been elaborated in the speeches Soviet leader Gorbachev gave in Vladivostok and Krasnoryarsk in 1986 and 1988, as well as in his recent talk to the Indonesian paper, MERDEKA. Meanwhile, the USSR also considers the enormous positive potential of the ASEAN's constructive proposals of turning Southeast Asia into a peaceful, free, neutral, and nonnuclear region.

On the whole, the Soviet position toward the ASEAN has been adequately expressed in the congratulatory message Comrade Gorbachev sent to Philippine President Aquino, chairman of the third summit meeting of ASEAN at the end of 1987. The message reads, in part: Establishing a broad, equal, and mutually beneficial cooperation among Asian countries is our firm conviction; it is the reliable guarantee for eliminating the threat of war and improving the political climate in the Asia-Pacific Region; and it is the correct path, leading to establishing trust and mutual understanding among all peoples. I want to reemphasize that the Soviet Union is open and ready to maintain all form of mutual ties with ASEAN, including the collective form of ties.

Near East & South Asia

Gorbachev Greetings to Afghanistan's Najibullah

PM2008140589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

[M.S. Gorbachev greetings message to Afghan President Najibullah on Independence Day]

[Text] To His Excellency Najibullah, President of the Republic of Afghanistan:

On behalf of the Soviet people and on my own behalf I greet you on your national day, the 70th anniversary of the restoration of Afghanistan's independence.

Afghanistan's people are celebrating this memorable date in conditions which are exceptionally crucial for their motherland's destiny. They are having to resist foreign interference and to uphold their independence and sovereignty. The events occurring in Afghanistan confirm the hopelessness of attempts to talk to them in the language of arms.

The Soviet Union will continue to assist Afghanistan's establishment as an independent, free, and territorially integral state, and to help and support it. We restate our solidarity with the policy of national reconciliation aimed at putting an end to the bloodshed and creating conditions for reliable peace and tranquillity in your country's ancient land.

I wish you and the whole Afghan people success in attaining this lofty national goal.
[Signed] M. Gorbachev

Najibullah's Reply

PM2008141589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

[Afghanistan's Najibullah thanks Gorbachev for Independence Day greetings]

[Text] To His Excellency M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

On behalf of the Afghan people and on my own behalf I convey to you heartfelt thanks for your friendly and warm greetings on the occasion of our National Day, the 70th anniversary of Afghanistan's independence.

The Afghan people are celebrating the 70th anniversary of their independence at an exceptionally crucial and complex period of their country's history. In the present conditions, with Afghanistan's independence and national sovereignty under threat as a result of outside interference and armed aggression, the people and government of the Republic of Afghanistan deem it their historic task to selflessly defend their independence and

sovereignty and simultaneously to continue the comprehensive efforts aimed at the earliest possible end of the war and bloodshed, at achieving national reconciliation in our ancient land.

I am pleased to note that the efforts by our freedom-loving people receive the due assistance and support of their friends abroad. I wish to express the profound gratitude of the people and government of the Republic of Afghanistan for the sefless aid and support from the government and people of the Soviet Union and for their solidarity with the Republic of Afghanistan, and to assure you that the relations of friendship and good-neighborliness between our two countries will continue to strengthen for the benefit of the two countries' peoples, in the interests of peace and stability in the region and throughout the world.

I wish you health and—to the Afghans' long-standing friend, the people of the Soviet Union—further prosperity and happiness.
[Signed] Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan

New U.S. Missile Supplies to Afghanistan Reported
LD1908120889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] As reported by BAKHTAR [INFORMATION AGENCY], the United States started to supply the Afghan extremists with new missiles that represent a special danger to the civilian population. In the past 24 hours such a missile was fired on one of the residential quarters of the town [not further identified]. Exploding in the air, it scattered around a great number of anti-personnel mines, including ones camouflaged as children's toys.

Afghanistan 'Condemns' U.S., Pakistan
LD1908205389 Moscow TASS in English 2046 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Kabul August 20 TASS—Pakistan and the United States are pursuing an open policy of state terrorism against Afghanistan, a spokesman for the Afghan Foreign Ministry said. The ten-year old Afghan war, attacks on passenger planes, missile attacks on cities and populated localities, bomb explosions in densely populated city quarters and provocations on the roads are the handiwork of the Afghan rebels backed by two countries, one of which is a participant in the Geneva Accords and the other is their guarantor.

The first supplies of new modifications of missiles to the rebels is another manifestation of the U.S. policy of state terrorism. These missiles explode in bombs and mines which kill mainly civilians, especially children.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry condemns the United States and Pakistan for their hostile activities aimed at escalating war in Afghanistan and urges the people and governments of the world to exert pressure on those who are violating the generally accepted legal norms and the UN Charter, the Afghan Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Najibullah's Peace Talks Offer Reported
LD2008194489 Moscow TASS in English 1739 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] Kabul August 20 TASS—President of the Republic of Afghanistan Najibullah made an address on radio and television on Saturday in connection with the 70th anniversary of the restoration of Afghanistan's independence.

The BAKHTAR [INFORMATION AGENCY] news agency reports President Najibullah emphasised in his speech that in the present situation, when the overwhelming majority of the Afghan people wants peace and tranquility to be established in the country, and a number of West European countries declare for the quest of the ways of a political settlement to the Afghan question, the Republic of Afghanistan proposes the following formula to the opposition:

The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan is prepared to start a dialogue and negotiations with all organisations, sections and individual Afghans who are for peace and an end to war.

The government is also prepared to open negotiations on an individual or collective basis with representatives of opposition in any country they suggest.

If an arrangement on establishing peace and terminating war is achieved at the talks between the government and the opposition, the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan will agree to convene a nation-wide peace conference.

An agreement on forming a steering council reflecting the viewpoints of various political forces can be achieved at that conference. A six-month ceasefire can also be announced at the conference for the purpose of enabling the steering council to ensure the necessary conditions and possibilities for its subsequent activity. The council is to create a broad-based coalition government during the ceasefire.

Besides that, the council is to elect a commission for the drafting of a new constitutionand to convene the traditional Loya Jirgah [Grand Asembly] for its endorsement, the president said.

The convocation of the Loya Jirgah and the holding of parliamentary elections will open the road to forming a new government.

In the framework of this formula the Republic of Afghanistan agrees to the idea of convening an international conference on Afghanistan with the participation of Afghanistan, the USSR, Pakistan, Iran, the U.S.A., India and China.

If at an international conference neighbour countries and permanent members of the UN Security Council guarantee Afghanistan's neutrality and the dismantling of military bases, alongside the ensurance of political rights of all members of society, this will be acceptable for the Republic of Afghanistan. If the people of Afghanistan achieves this aim, there will remain no reasons for the use of force within the country, and Afghans will decide independently the question of their country's leadership. Conditions for putting an end to interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs will thus be created.

Besides that, the Republic of Afghanistan is prepared to hold general elections under the United Nations observance. "I wish the opposition realistically consider these proposals of the Republic of Afghanistan", President Najibullah said in conclusion.

Najibullah Interviewed on 18 Aug National Day

LD1808200989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 18 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; interview by Moscow Television reporter V. Fadeyev with Afghan President Najibullah in Kabul on 18 August—recorded; Najibullah speaks in Pashto with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] [Announcer] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Najibullah the president of Afghanistan, have exchanged congratulatory messages in connection with Afghanistan's national day, the 70th anniversary of the restoration of the country's independence.

[Fadeyev] Seventy years ago the forefathers of these people won independence for Afghanistan in heroic fighting against the British colonialists. The past 70 years have contained a great deal. One should certainly number the April Revolution among the most striking events of recent years. In that revolution, the people gained through suffering the right to a worthy life on an equal footing. [video shows street scenes in Afghanistan then switches to interview with Najibullah]

[Najibullah] Today, as 70 years ago when the flag of a free fatherland was hoisted over Afghanistan, our main tasks remains the strengthening of unity, the defense of our independence, and the protection of the homeland from outside aggression and interference by other countries, above all neighboring Pakistan. In marking this date we declare anew for all to hear that our course of national reconciliation, from which we shall never deviate, pursues just one goal—that of uniting all progressive circles of our homeland in the name of peace and happiness for all Afghans. In marking this glorious date we recall how important and powerful a factor in our life and stability all-around Soviet support plays. In the military sphere they have been helping us since the withdrawal of Soviet forces to handle combat tasks by ourselves and to repulse all the offensives by the rebels in all strategic areas.

Now, we are looking ahead with optimism. After all, the process of national reconciliation, though not easily, is steadily finding its way into the hearts of millions of Afghans.

Interviewed on Military Situation

PM1808181389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with President Najibullah of Afghanistan by special correspondent M. Yusin in Kabul: "The Republic Will Overcome the Ordeals. President Najibullah Replies to IZVESTIYA Special Correspondent's Questions on the Eve of Afghanistan's National Day"—date of interview not given]

[Text] [Yusin] Mr President, we meet on the eve of your country's national day, the 70th anniversary of the restoration of independence. Afghanistan will celebrate this jubilee amid complex military-political conditions. Could you describe the situation prevailing at the fronts?

[Najibullah] Following the completion of the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the situation deteriorated sharply in the country's regions bordering on Pakistan, especially near Jalalabad, Khowst, Qandahar, and Gardeyz. The united forces of the government's opponents organized large-scale offensive operations relying on support from the Pakistani Army and militia and Saudi Wahhabis. But our forces managed to repulse the enemy pressure and thwart the plans to capture the country's key cities.

Regarding the military situation on the outskirts of Kabul, you know that the capital is still subjected to shelling with missiles. Formations of the implacable opposition strive to destabilize the situation in the city and create panic among the population. Civilians, including women and children, are primarily the victims of the shelling. The national economy and citizens' property suffer enormous damage.

It must be said that, for various reasons, some armed opposition groups have recently stopped shelling the capital. The extremists are trying to make up for this in two ways. First, they are moving antigovernment detachments from other parts of the country to positions around the city. Second, groups consisting entirely of Saudi Wahabites have recently started operating in the outskirts of Kabul. They shell the city with rocket-propelled projectiles independently, without collaboration with insurgent detachments comprising Afghans.

I must tell you that we are not sitting idle. The republic's armed forces have elaborated plans for measures to combat the shelling of the capital against sabotage and subversion in the city.

[Yusin] Recent events prove that there is no military solution to the Afghan problem. Ways to a peaceful settlement will have to be sought sooner or later. How do you perceive this process?

[Najibullah] The lessons of the decade-long war and especially of the last few months confirm that the Afghan problem can be solved only by political means. Those who advocate military confrontation are prolonging the civilian population's suffering on the one hand, while deceiving themselves on the other.

We have accurate information that the majority of field commanders and a considerable proportion of opposition groupings outside the country advocate the start of an inter-Afghan dialogue aimed at ending the bloodshed. Only the extremist opposition leaders based in Pakistan urge the continuation of the fratricidal war. They are the people who are stubbornly supported by outside forces. It can be confidently said that if the United States, Pakistan, and their allies give up interfering in Afghan affairs, a political solution will soon be found.

[Yusin] What concessions would you agree to make in exchange for a pledge by the regime's opponents to stop the war? Will the proposals to create a coalition government, which could include all of Afghanistan's political forces including the most extreme mujahidin groupings, remain in force? Are you prepared to concede several ministerial posts in the government to the opposition while elections are being prepared?

[Najibullah] Let us look at things realistically. The isolation of various political parties from the political processes will not solve the Afghan problem. This can be done only by taking into account the interests of all forces operating inside and outside Afghanistan. The establishment of lasting peace in the country requires representatives of both sides in the Afghan conflict to meet around the negotiating table.

It is amazing that some circles in Washington and Islamabad verbally advocate a political settlement of the Afghan problem while rejecting the possibility of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] and its allies participating in the peace settlement. Attempts to exclude any of the sides involved in the conflict from this process can only prolong the senseless war.

This is why our proposal to institute a cease-fire, establish dialogue, and create a broad-based coalition government which would include all parties and groupings and all political figures inside the country and abroad without exception, remains in force. As regards the distribution of ministerial posts, this question could be resolved through talks.

[Yusin] If free elections were to be held in Afghanistan, how would you assess the PDPA's chances?

[Najibullah] We are convinced that the holding of free and fair elections is the only way to achieve peace in the country. Naturally, we are prepared to accept the results of such elections and to respect them.

[Yusin] Did you feel any uncertainty just before and immediately after the withdrawal of Soviet troops. After all, you had to fight the enemy without having the customary powerful support behind you. Did you expect events to turn out so favorably for the government, or were you preparing for the worst?

[Najibullah] On the eve of the withdrawal of Soviet soldiers, some observers predicted the Afghan Army's swift collapse. But we knew even then that these forecasts were incorrect. The course of events proved us right. Frankly speaking, we did not expect the situation to develop exactly as it did, and we were preparing for the worst. But there was never any time of uncertainty and despair.

[Yusin] In your view, why have the opposition detachments, despite all the efforts and support from outside, simply failed to achieve any appreciable military results?

[Najibullah] First of all, it must be noted that combat operations by opposition groupings in different parts of the country are not identical. The opposition detachments fight fiercely and conduct major combat operations wherever Pakistan's military authorities have an opportunity to give direct support to the extremists' formations. I believe that the insurgents' inability to capture cities like Jalalabad, Qandahar, or Khowst is due not so much to the opposition's weakness as to the might of our armed forces.

Of course, other factors have also played a considerable role. For example, the unwillingness of opposition detachment leaders in places to continue the war, the effectiveness of talks between the government and field commanders, and the growing split between oppositionists operating inside Afghanistan and leaders of groupings based in Pakistan.

[Yusin] Would you agree to a simultaneous cessation of Soviet military aid to Afghanistan and deliveries of U.S. weapons to the opposition?

[Najibullah] In principle we are agreeable to such a step. But in this context I would like to recall some lessons learned from the still fresh experience of the Geneva agreements. It is well known that Afghanistan and the Soviet Union honorably adhered to these accords, while Pakistan and the United States breached and continue to breach their pledges. If they adopt such an irresponsible approach toward agreements signed in the presence of

the UN secretary general, I do not know what would happen to a possible accord between the USSR and the United States on ceasing arms deliveries to the combatants in Afghanistan.

But if authoritative international organizations were to monitor the implementation of such an agreement, as well as of an accord on a cease-fire and impermissibility of foreign interference, we would unconditionally advocate such an initiative. Furthermore, our government has put forward a proposal on Afghanistan's demilitarization, and this proposal remains in force.

[Yusin] Have there been any recent positive changes in the Afghan policy of Pakistan and the United States?

[Najibullah] Unfortunately, no such changes have been observed to this day. Washington and Islamabad continue contravening the Geneva agreements by arming and financing opposition groupings and are actually supplying them with increasingly sophisticated weapons. These states' interference in Afghan affairs is taking the form of direct aggression against our country.

[Yusin] In your opinion, how probable is the likelihood of an Afghan-Pakistani armed conflict if Pakistan's leadership does not cease its interference in Afghanistan's affairs?

[Najibullah] It is an open secret that the implacable opposition's anti-Afghan actions are directed from Pakistani territory. Unless Islamabad changes its hostile policy, the possibility of direct armed conflict between Pakistan and Afghanistan could become a reality at any time. In such an event, responsibility for all the consequences will lie with the Pakistani authorities.

[Yusin] And one last question. Mr President, do you believe that the quest for ways to end the war will at long last yield fruit, and the next, 71st anniversary of the restoration of Afghanistan's independence will be celebrated beneath peaceful skies?

[Najibullah] Why wait a whole year? Had it been up to us, peace would dawn in the next few months. Unfortunately, however, the enemy refuses to abandon his plans to achieve military victory. Outside interference continues. I know that some very hard times lies ahead. The "hot summer" which was predicted for us is not yet over. But I believe that the Afghan Army will overcome all ordeals as successfully as it has managed to do this during the last 6 months. Ultimately everyone will realize the obvious truth which we accepted a long time ago: It is impossible to solve the Afghan problem by military means.

Kabul Correspondent Marks Independence Day

LD1908085489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Today, the people of Afghanistan marks its national holiday—Independence Day. The Soviet Union, as you know, was the first to recognize the independence of that country. In celebrating the anniversary, the Afghan people recall not only history; they also think about the future. Vladimir Pasko, our special correspondent in Kabul, reports:

[Pasko] For several days now, no explosions have been heard in Kabul. Occasional booms of guns and the sounds of automatic bursts carry from the direction of the hills. But here that is usual. During the course of 4 weeks, detachments of the irreconcilable terrorized the capital with missile strikes, having placed particular emphasis on the 15th, the day marking 6 months since the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan. But on that day the government artillery delivered a retaliatory blow, after which calm was restored. Reports about combat actions in the eastern districts, which border on Pakistan, also bear witness to the durability of the republican regime.

The point here is not merely the superiority of the regular government army over the opposition forces, which are uncoordinated in every respect, but also the clear advantages of the political course of the current leadership of Afghanistan, one that is directed at the achievement of national harmony in the country. The leaders of the Alliance of Seven, who are based in Pakistan, are still casting away the hand extended to them by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA], and are excluding any possibility of cooperation with it. But the PDPA today has 200,000 members and its policy has the support of 5 million people; that is almost one third of the population of Afghanistan. The hope of the irreconcilables to exclude the PDPA from political life is becoming more and more illusory. Today, there are 15 million weapons here for 16 million inhabitants. Every village is like a fortress. One has to possess immense imagination in order to attempt to compel a person who is armed to the teeth to fulfill someone's else's will. Here, only harmony is possible.

The government insistently proposes to the opposition that there be a cease-fire and that talks be commenced pertaining to the establishment of a broad-based government. This should be preceded by parliamentary elections. The only realistic path to peace here lies through the achievement of national harmony with consideration for the interests of all political forces. In the final analysis, it is a matter of the future of the Afghan people, of their place in the international community. It is a question of their national independence.

Million Dead, Injured in 10 Years of Afghan War
PM2008212189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 3

[G. Charodeyev report: "Victims of Afghan War. From Our Correspondent at USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Text] S.M. Gulabzoy, ambassador of the Republic of Afghanistan to the USSR, delivered a report on the situation in the country as part of a briefing. A correspondent of the Japanese newspaper ASAHI asked him:

"How many Afghans were killed or wounded during the last 10 years of the war being waged on Afghanistan's territory?"

"Recently," the ambassador replied, "the Western mass media have carried numerous contradictory reports on this account. It is well known, however, that it is virtually impossible to keep an accurate count of victims on both sides in the conditions of incessant military operations. This is why today we can give an approximate estimate: About 1 million Afghans were killed or wounded during the period in question."

Polyakov Gives Briefing on Lebanon Policy
PM1808144189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent G. Charodeyev report: "Search for a Settlement to the Lebanon Crisis. From Our Correspondent at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Excerpts] V.P. Polyakov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Near East and North Africa Administration, has spoken at a routine briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists. [passage omitted]

Replies were then given to correspondents' questions.

Question from Lebanese journalists: In an article published the other day in PRAVDA, the Soviet Union for the first time advanced the idea of a federal structure for Lebanon. Does this indicate a new Kremlin position with regard to central rule in Lebanon?

[Polyakov] No, a newspaper article is not a document indicating that any changes have emerged in the Soviet position on Lebanon. We resolutely advocate that the Lebanon crisis be settled solely on the basis of consideration for the interests of all Lebanese and that a definite political platform be created which would the warring sides could accept.

A KUNA [KUWAIT NEWS AGENCY] correspondent asked: Is there any Soviet-U.S. agreement for the USSR to pressure Syria and the United States to pressure Israel to promote a settlement to the Lebanon crisis?

[Polyakov] There is no such agreement between the two countries. Why do people talk of possible Soviet pressure on Syria? Our country maintains friendly relations with Syria, which is an independent state that determines independently its own foreign policy line.

Kuwaiti journalists asked the following question: Have contacts been established between Moscow and Tel Aviv with regard to normalizing the situation in Lebanon?

[Polyakov] After the Israeli commandos kidnapped Shaykh 'Ubayd we appealed to a number of states, including Israel, to do everything they could to ensure that this act did not lead to an escalation of the conflict. We also appealed for every effort to be made to solve problems through negotiation. However, the Soviet Union has still not received a reply from the Israeli side. [passage omitted]

Hashemi-Rafsanjani Pleased With USSR-Iran Ties
LD2008204989 Moscow TASS in English 1942 GMT 20 Aug 89

["Iran's President Satisfied With Iranian-Soviet Ties"—TASS headline]

[Text] Tehran August 20 TASS—'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, at a meeting with Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati, expressed satisfaction with the consolidation of the Iranian-Soviet ties and also with a "positive and constructive" attitude of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to a message of the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran submitted this week, IRNA [ISLAMIC REPUBLIC] NEWS AGENCY reports.

Presentation of Iranian Cabinet to Majlis Noted
LD1908172289 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani submitted his new cabinet to parliament on Saturday, ignoring a plea by a majority of deputies to retain anti-Western hardliner Interior Minister 'Ali Akbar Mohtashemi. Our observer elaborates:

Iranian president announced his cabinet choice, dropping a hardliner despite a drive in parliament to keep him. The former interior minister was at public odds with the Iranian president on many issues, including President Hashemi-Rafsanjani's stated desire to improve relations with the West. Earlier reports from the region said there was a power struggle in Tehran between radical purists, who put Islamic ideals above everything else, and (?pragmatists) led by Hashemi-Rafsanjani who seek foreign help in restructuring the war-crippled economy.

Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani, elected president only last month with enhanced executive powers, submitted his cabinet list on the eve of the anniversary of the cease-fire

in the Iran-Iraq war. Though the cease-fire was announced a year ago, the United Nations observers who control the implementation of the decision have registered quite a number of violations. It has proved equally difficult for the United Nations to get the two opposing sides to agree to a withdrawal to international boundaries which the Security Council Resolution 598 stipulated as the next step after consolidation of the cease-fire.

However, as the UN observers report, Iran and Iraq seem to be no closer toward turning the cease-fire into a lasting peace settlement after the 8-year-long devastating war. More than 1 million people were killed on both sides. The United Nations Secretary General Perez de Cuellar urged the two countries to agree to pull back their troops and exchange about 100,000 prisoners of war as part of the new peace efforts.

In his statement devoted to the anniversary of the cease-fire agreement, Perez de Cuellar expressed deep regret over the fact that the withdrawal to the internationally recognized borders has yet to take place. Meanwhile, both sides blame each other for lack of progress at several rounds of peace talks, which started 5 days after the cease-fire a year ago. The disputed issue, which sparked off the Iran-Iraq war, remains unsolved.

Gorbachev Greets India's Rajiv Gandhi on Birthday
LD2008193889 Moscow TASS in English 1711 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 20 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev sent a message to Indian Prime-Minister Rajiv Gandhi to congratulate him on his birthday.

The message also expresses the confidence that the dialogue between leaders of the Soviet Union and India will continue to promote the consolidation of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Adamishin Addresses Conference on Southern Africa
LD1808223689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] In the Swiss town of Burgenstock an international conference on the problems of southern Africa has finished its work. The U.S. congressmen, the representatives of a number of European countries, Canada, and Japan, and the governments of the Frontline States as well as representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa and the Southwest Africa People's Organization took part in it. Adamishin, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, made a speech at the conference. Questions associated with the settlement of the regional conflict by political means were discussed. The important role of international interaction and USSR-U.S. cooperation in resolving these complex tasks was noted.

Commentary Assesses Ethiopian Peace Process
EA2008072689 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 18 Aug 89

[From the "Africa as We See It" program]

[Text] The People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia [PDRE] Government's efforts to end the military confrontation in northern Ethiopia has gained local and international support. Maksim Yevgeniyev comments as follows:

There is no one who has not asked the question: When will peace prevail in northern Ethiopia? The good news is that today there is more reason to reply positively. Two months ago, the PDRE National Shengo adopted a (?six-point) plan to end the bloodshed in northern Ethiopia. Proposals were made to opposition groups in the area to engage in direct and official talks, without preconditions, in the presence of observers accepted by both sides. The Ethiopian Government has agreed to the presence of external observers at the talks and moved positively to satisfy the questions of the opposition.

The aim of the Shengo's peace initiative was to resolve all issues that were hindering efforts to bring about a peace dialogue. This proves that the Ethiopian leadership is in the vanguard of the moves toward achieving political solutions to the problem, which is a constructive stand on its part. The Ethiopian president, Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, has meanwhile said in a speech that we would not allow any part of the country to secede. The objective of this statement, which is based on the interests of the people, is to bring about peace under the umbrella of the unity of Ethiopia.

The great efforts exerted to bring about peace in the northern part of Ethiopia have gained the support of many African, European, Asian, and Arab countries. It can also be said that the superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—have contributed toward the proposed dialogue. For example, the Soviet Government has always advocated the preservation of Ethiopia's territorial integrity and political solutions to the conflict. It accordingly appreciated the Shengo's proposals. The Ethiopian side having agreed, Soviet diplomats have agreed to serve as mediators and to make preparations for the dialogue between the PDRE and secessionist leaders. In this respect, the chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's African Countries Administration, Yuriy Alekseyevich Yakulov, held talks with the Eritrean People's Liberation Front leader, Isayas Afeworki, in London.

Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter has also expressed readiness to contribute towards seeking a solution to the problem. He is a candidate to act as a mediator during the negotiations. The other candidate is the chairman of the Tanzanian Revolutionary Party, Julius Nyerere. The U.S. State Department's African Affairs expert, Herman

Cohen, was recently in Addis Ababa to hold talks on ways of solving the Eritrean problem. He praised Ethiopia's efforts to prepare the ground for (?dialogue).

The joint efforts of the PDRE Government and various governments to bring about peace have borne fruit, and this is encouraging. Relative peace prevails in northern Ethiopia and on the whole there is no firing. Responding to the peace call, leaders of the Tigray and Eritrean Liberation Fronts—the two major opposition groups—have expressed readiness to start negotiations soon and without preconditions. According to the press, the negotiations with the PDRE Government may start in Atlanta in a month's time. It is to be hoped that the long-awaited peace will come to Ethiopia in the not too distant future.

East Europe

Jaruzelski Accepts New Solidarity Government

Rakowski Urges 'Grand Coalition'

PM1808182789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "To Find a Way Out of the Crisis"]

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Aug—The most important task facing Poland is still the creation of a "grand coalition" government which would prevent any further deterioration of the Polish population's working and living conditions, halt the wave of strikes, dispel the fears of allies and partners abroad, and continue the reforms and changes launched on the initiative of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR]. This idea was emphasized in a statement adopted by participants in a meeting between M. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and party committee secretaries from 208 of Poland's largest enterprises.

Having expressed profound anxiety over the development of the situation in the country, the conference participants appealed to all parliamentary deputies' clubs to create the conditions for the swift formation of such a government.

It was on the PZPR's initiative, the statement says, that the way to the expedited achievement of national accord was paved. In conformity with the will of the majority in society, the PZPR, together with its ally parties and societies, sat around a "roundtable" with representatives of the opposition. Agreement was reached on the joint creation of conditions to build parliamentary democracy and a civilian society [grazhdanskoye obshchestvo] and to accelerate the reform of the country's economy.

Having noted with regret that the political opposition is trying to breach the "roundtable" accords and to take power, the conference participants noted that such actions cause indignation among PZPR members and their sympathizers. They protested at the confrontational actions by leaders of the opposition and the groups supporting them.

Summing up the results of the debate, M. Rakowski emphasized that the PZPR must now become the party of political struggle and must learn to fight this struggle, to which it is not accustomed. He called on PZPR members to counter those who try to erase everything achieved in the country during the 45 years of people's power. To demonstrate the changes and transformations which have been accomplished is also an element of political struggle, the speaker said. The party still has tremendous potential to exert political and social influence, and its effective utilization depends on PZPR members and their activeness. The quality of the party and its role will be determined by daily party work, he noted. As regards proposals for the speediest convocation of the scheduled 11th PZPR Congress, M. Rakowski noted that it cannot be ruled out that the congress may be convened this year. It must be well prepared, and it is necessary to ensure that the entire party participates in this process.

'Intense Consultations' Noted 18 Aug

LD1808212589 Moscow TASS in English 2111 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw August 18 TASS—Intense consultations and meetings are going on in Poland with the aim to decide the nominee for the post of the country's prime minister and to form a new government. The leaders of the Solidarity, the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party have formed a new parliamentary coalition and subjected for the consideration of President Wojciech Jaruzelski a list of candidates from which to appoint the head of the government.

Jaruzelski met today Tadeusz Mazowiecki, member of the Solidarity's civil committee. They discussed what efforts are required to form a new government in the obtaining political and economic situation in the country. Mazowiecki also met with primate of the Polish Catholic Church Cardinal Josef Glemp and chairman of the civil parliamentary club Bronislaw Geremek.

Jaruzelski had a talk with chairman of the Polish Council of the Patriotic Movement for National rebirth Jan Dobraczynski to discuss the social problems faced by the country in connection with the need to form a government of broad accord and cooperation. The same subject was discussed by Jaruzelski with chairman of the worldly Catholic society Zenon Komender, chairman of the Christian public union Kazimierz Morawski and chairman of the Polish Catholic public union Weslaw Gwirzdrz.

During the meeting of the president with deputy chairman of the Polish trade union agreement Wojciech Obarski, the following came under discussion: The social

and economic situation in the country, the hard living conditions of workers, trade union activity and perspectives of forming a government enjoying a broad social and political support.

The Politburo of the Polish United Workers' Party met today to discuss the country's social and political situation as well as aspects of forming a new government after the meeting of President Jaruzelski with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, chairman of the central administration of the United Peasants' Party Roman Malinowski and chairman of the Democratic Party Central Committee Jerzy Jozwiak.

Meets With New Coalition

PM1808162989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch and TASS report under general heading "Premier Still Not Named"]

[Text] Warsaw—Thursday 17 August was an exceptionally tense and certainly a crucial day in Poland's political life. The main event was the meeting that Poland's President W. Jaruzelski had with L. Walesa, R. Malinowski, and J. Jozwiak, who now represent a new coalition claiming the right to form Poland's government. Taking part in the meeting was General C. Kiszczak, who officially submitted his resignation in view of his failure to form a cabinet.

The meeting was held at the Belweder, the president's residence. It attracted tremendous attention among Polish and foreign journalists. Walesa presented a concept of the future cabinet, which he perceives as a government of national responsibility: It must represent all political forces in the country which are fully determined to act for the sake of reforms in both politics and the economy. It must consistently implement the "roundtable" directives.

Observers have drawn attention to the fact that on the same day Jaruzelski received Professor B. Geremek, chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club and an influential opposition figure. That was why, during a press conference, Walesa was asked whether Professor Geremek would make a good premier. Walesa replied: "We have many good candidates."

So, who will be instructed by Poland's president to form a government? And what will the new cabinet be like, since it will be selected—as it has already become clear—by non-Communists for the first time in many decades? How soon will it get down to work, since every day means both material and moral losses for a country lacking effective leadership? These are the questions perturbing all Poles, who have come up against the burdens of the economic crisis in the past few days. A statement by the Citizens' Parliamentary Club says without beating about the bush: "Under Lech Walesa's leadership." The chairman of "Solidarity" himself who, incidentally, loves to speak about himself in the third person, claims: "I never imagined that Lech Walesa would be premier. And I still do not think so. Lech Walesa simply wants to play his part and wants to help you."

There is no question that Malinowski also wishes to become premier. He is among the top candidates mentioned. The United Peasants' Party which he heads is not having a better time. It shows signs of a split, since the United Peasants' Party leadership is, on the one hand, thinking of creating a single Polish Peasants' Party while, on the other hand, it has attached itself to "Solidarity" in its quest for success. Time alone will show what the outcome will be.

Friday's GAZETA WYBORCZA, having described 17 August as an historic day, writes in an article under the jubilant headline "Our Premier!": "The premier's identity is still not certain. However, it is clear that he will be a 'Solidarity' man. True to our journalistic duty, which commands us to share our knowledge with readers, we must say that the names of Bronislaw Geremek and Jacek Kuron are often mentioned. Nonetheless, the most likely candidacy is that of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, an opposition politician with more than 30 years' experience, who this year refused to stand either for the Sejm or for the Senate." Next to this appeared a photograph of Mazowiecki, chief editor of the weekly SOLIDARNOSC.

But let us be patient. It is evident that Poland's president will name the man who is to form the government on 18 August. It looks as if the proposal by some opposition figures—"Your president, our premier"—may yet materialize, even though it appeared hypothetical not so long ago.

Another important event of the day: The Sejm debates which lasted 16-17 August came to an end. Following the Senate, the Sejm adopted a document condemning the military interference in Czechoslovakia's affairs by Warsaw Pact countries in 1968. The draft statement was submitted for examination on behalf of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club ("Solidarity" deputies).

The 14th Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee plenum is due to open in Warsaw Saturday. The plenum agenda has not been announced. [end Toporkov dispatch]

Walesa declared in an interview with West German television that even if a noncommunist government were to be formed in Poland, the country would remain a member of the Warsaw Pact. "Poland cannot forget its location and its obligations," he said. "We are members of the Warsaw Pact and this cannot be changed. Whoever is in power must recognize this reality, and 'Solidarity' will remain committed to it."

Holds Talks With Mazowiecki

LD1908221189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Video report by Yuriy Ulyanov in Warsaw—from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Following the statement by the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, former allies of the Polish United Worker's Party [PZPR], of their readiness to enter into the government with the opposition—you can see the leaders of these parties, Malinowski and Mlynczak with Lech Walesa in the center—following that, Solidarity put forward for the post of prime minister one of its leaders, TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC Editor-In-Chief Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The newspaper WYBORCZA prints his picture under the headline: Our Premier.

Mazowiecki has held consultations with Jaruzelski, the country's president, Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and the Polish Primate Cardinal Glemp. So this is an entirely realistic candidate.

However, it cannot be said that this nomination is fully supported by all Polish society. The newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU today reports meetings of party activists in a number of the country's voivodships. Members of the PZPR are proposing that a government of national accord be formed in accordance with the decisions of the Round Table. It is likely that it will all be resolved by the Sejm, which meets on Wednesday, 23d August.

Makes Offer to Mazowiecki

LD1908162689 Moscow TASS in English 1620 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw August 19 TASS—Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski has accepted the resignation of Polish Premier Czeslaw Kisczak and has thanked him for his efforts aimed at forming a new government, the PAP news agency said.

The president is going to ask the marshal of the Sejm to relieve Kiszczak of his post of chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers in the next few days.

After talks and consultations with representatives of parliamentary and non-parliamentary socio-political groups, Jaruzelski offered Tadeusz Mazowiecki to take the office of chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers.

'Certain Confusion' Among Solidarity

LD2008100389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] The main item on the foreign news services is still the situation in Poland. As we reported, Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski has proposed to Solidarity representative Tadeusz Mazowiecki that that he assume the post of head of government. Mazowiecki is a member of the Solidarity Citizens' Committee and editor of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC. Mazowiecki is 62. In a television interview the candidate for prime minister declared that Poland's economic situation is very serious. He stressed that miracles do not happen and immediate positive results should not be expected following the formation of a new government. At the same time, foreign news agencies are noting that a certain confusion can be detected in the Solidarity leadership. It seems to be because in past years, Solidarity has mainly engaged in criticism of Polish United Workers Party policy without essentially proposing a complete program for leading Poland out of the crisis.

Accepts Kiszczak's Resignation

PM2008173589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Candidate Prime Minister"]

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Aug—Polish President Jaruzelski today accepted Kiszczak's resignation as prime minister of Poland, having expressed to him gratitude for the efforts he made to form a new government. He intends to propose to the marshal of Poland's Sejm that the Sejm recalls Kiszczak from this office.

As a result of talks and consultations held with representatives of parliamentary and extraparliamentary sociopolitical groups, Poland's president offered the post of chairman of Poland's Council of Ministers to Mazowiecki, member of the "Solidarity" Civic Committee and chief editor of the weekly SOLIDARNOSC. The Polish Sejm will now have to examine this question and make a decision on Mazowiecki's appointment to office, instructing him to form the country's new government.

In the present situation, a PAP [Polish Press Agency] report says, Poland's president perceives the need to form a government which would enjoy the support of the parliamentary clubs and would be based on a broad accord between the country's political and social forces. The creation of such a government would help to overcome the economic difficulties as soon as possible, to continue the process of reforms stemming from the "roundtable" decisions, and to satisfy the Polish society's needs and aspirations.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki is 62 years old, a jurist by education, journalist, deputy chairman of the Warsaw Catholic Intelligentsia Club, and adviser to the "Solidarity" leadership. He played an active part in the "roundtable" talks in his capacity as chairman of the working group on trade union pluralism and coordinator of all "Solidarity" working groups. at the 11th PZPR Congress which is being planned for this year.

Names Mazowiecki New Prime Minister

PM2008214789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Aug 89 Morning Edition pp 1, 3

[Own correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch: "Poland: Prime Minister Appointed"]

[Excerpts] Warsaw—The days of agonizing suspense and political anxiety are over: Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski named the person who now has to form the Polish Government. He is Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chief editor of the weekly SOLIDARNOSC, whose candidacy has already been reported by IZVESTIYA.

On 19 August Poland's president accepted Kiszczak's resignation from the office of Polish Council of Ministers chairman, expressing gratitude for the efforts he made to form a new government. He intends to propose to the marshal of Poland's Sejm that the Sejm recall Kiszczak from office.

A PAP [Polish Press Agency] report says that in the present situation, Poland's president perceives a need to form a government which would enjoy the support of parliamentary clubs and would be based on a broad accord among the country's political and social forces. The creation of such a government would help to overcome the economic difficulties as soon as possible, to continue the reforms process stemming from the "roundtable" decisions, and to satisfy Polish society's needs and aspirations.

The Polish Sejm will now have to make a decision on Mazowiecki's appointment as Polish Council of Ministers chairman, after instructing him to form the country's new government.

The recent "roundtable" talks, during which Mazowiecki was cochairman of the working group on problems of trade union pluralism, as well as member of the political reforms commission and the mass media subcommission, have gone down as a vivid page in his life story. His stance was distinguished by considered opinions, familiarity with the issues, and the readiness to reach reasonable compromises. Credit is certainly due to Mazowiecki, among others, for the fact that the "roundtable" ended successfully and went down in Poland's history as the foundation of the policy of national accord and important transformations in the country. He said, "If we manage to avoid illusory solutions, the 'roundtable' could bring about the changes for which we have struggled for many years and which Poland needs. 'Solidarity' will operate legally, as a mass phenomenon. Much will depend on our staunchness and our common sense. Will we manage to combine them?"

I realize how difficult it is to write a dispatch containing biographical details of someone who is totally untypical of a state system and apparatus which have seemed immutable for decades on end. There is much new that we will have to become accustomed to now, and this is not all that simple to do.

First of all: The helm of power will be taken by someone who, until recently, was persecuted. Because he spoke out against the monopoly of power as represented by the ruling party's nomenklatura. The time has come when the party itself has realized that there is a need for radical reforms, for perestroyka of everything that has become obsolete and acts as a brake. As a matter of fact, the party became the initiator and driving force of these vitally necessary changes. But, due to past inertia, the socioeconomic situation deteriorated more and more. The party's name became associated with crises, failures, and a lack of confidence in the future. It was on the crest of this wave that voters, perceiving parliamentary elections as a nationwide plebiscite, gave their preference to the opposition. Now the opposition, having gained support from two former allies of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], has a majority not only in the Senate but also in the Sejm.

No matter what may be said now, no matter what complaints are made, no matter how much the opposition may be reproached, it is said: having sharply accelerated the process launched by the "roundtable" by reducing this process from 4 years to just a few months, the fact that an "outsider" now heads the cabinet is perceived as natural. Someone who never belonged to any nomenklatura, someone who has never been its spokesman.

As far as the future is concerned, it is impossible to manage without the classic "wait and see." Incidentally, it is important to note that the PZPR will have its representatives in the new government—the ministers of national defense and internal affairs, and possibly the foreign minister. The party is no longer the ruling party, and now being—let's be blunt—in some sort of opposition, it intends to restructure itself and to elaborate a new program capable of winning over the millions. Evidently this will be discussed at the 11th PZPR Congress which is being planned for this year.

Commentary on Mazowiecki Appointment

LD2108091889 Moscow World Service in English 0710 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] The eyes of the world were on Poland at the weekend as the Prime Minister-Elect Tadeusz Mazowiecki sought to form a new government. Here is more from our observer Petr Vasilyev.

The new premier hopes to form his government by the end of the month. On Sunday, after his appointment as premier by President Jaruzelski, Mr Mazowiecki urged his countrymen to cast aside despair and start building a

free and prosperous future. Immediately after his nomination the new prime minister-elect, a 60-year old Solidarity economic adviser and editor, met with the Solidarity leader Lech Walesa to map out their strategy for the new administration. Mr Mazowiecki said earlier that he would like to see the progressive forces in Poland join his government. This must be a broad coalition, he said.

According to President Jaruzelski, this would be conducive to overcoming Poland's difficulties containing the reforms stemming from the philosophy and essence of the roundtable discussion and satisfying the needs and aspirations of Polish society. The Polish United Workers' Party, at an urgent plenary meeting on Saturday, agreed to join Mr Mazowiecki's government but said it wanted more than just the two portfolios of defense and interior ministers. Mr Mazowiecki suggested he was considering the demand. The Polish Communist leader Mieczyslaw Rakowski ruled out the use of force to retain power.

Meanwhile all sides agreed that the future of the Solidarity-led government would depend upon its economic success. So far, as quite a few observers have pointed out, Solidarity has no concrete economic program or platform for continuing the process of restructuring. It clinched a 5-year pact with the European Community at the end of July and asked for a $10 billion aid to start the reforms working. Under the deal, the community will lift its curbs on Polish farm and industrial exports starting next year.

While the West's media welcomed the developments in Poland, the Polish newspaper [as heard] has rightly mentioned that the West should not link financial aid to reform process, nor think of Lech Walesa as Our Man in Warsaw.

Communist Party on Formation of New Government

LD2108090389 Moscow TASS in English 0802 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw August 21 TASS—The crisis in Poland can be overcome through evolutionary and consistent reforms only by a government comprising all political forces represented in the Sejm (Parliament), the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) said in a statement here on Sunday, [20 August].

The statement, which set forth the party's stand on the formation of a new government and the current political situation in the country, was adopted by the 14th Plenum of the PUWP Central Committee.

It said that "time-serving alliances cannot replace a 'grand coalition' government. Their advocates will not avoid common responsibility for the current situation in this way."

"The situation in Poland has become dangerously aggravated. The political structure of evolutionary reforms, created after round-table negotiations, is becoming loose.

"Citizens' weariness and bitterness over continuing economic and political destabilisation are growing. Enterprises are again besieged by political strikes," the statement went on.

"It is imperative to form, as soon as possible, a government of broad national confidence, which should take care of the genuine problems of Poland and the everyday life of working people, to enliven the economy and ensure law and order."

The Central Committee said that the leaders of the deputy clubs of the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party, who had agreed to form a coalition without the PUWP, had violated an agreement on the political make-up of the Sejm.

"The distribution of mandates between the three parties and organisation of secular Catholics and Christians was based on the premise that this alliance is not time-serving and cannot be a subject of political games.

"If this agreement, repeatedly confirmed by the interaction commission, comes to grief, the initiators of the break will bear historical responsibility for the lost chance to carry out the country's peaceful transition to an epoch of a new economic and political order," the statement said.

It pointed out that Solidarity's readiness to share responsibility for the genuine solution of Polish problems holds out the promise of gaining public consent for the reforms and for their necessary costs.

"None of the main political forces in the country—either the PUWP or Solidarity—is able to cope with the dangers and wrest the country out of the crisis on its own, especially if they confront one another," the statement emphasised.

"Partnership between these two forces, free from mutual prejudice, can become a qualitatively new factor in Polish history."

Internal Tension Marks Polish Developments

PM2008200389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 89 First Edition pp 1, 6

["On the Spot Reportage" by APN own correspondent V. Masterov and PRAVDA correspondent A. Starukhin: "Poland: Against the Background of Changes. Quest for Solutions"]

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Aug—The train crossed the River Bug and the Polish landscape, described hundreds of times, came into view: Neat houses with carefully tended plots,

churches with pointed spires, very few people about, and yet an impression that so much has been done through people's hard work. August is the month of rich apple harvests.... But this is perhaps as far as the idyllic picture, so typical of the past, goes. The eyes just about catch a glimpse of the slogan "Strike Readiness," which has—alas—become so typical of the country's political landscape, on railroad station buildings and smallish enterprises which flash by.

Against the background of the continuing strikes in Poland—warning strikes, occupation strikes with political and economic demands—this chain of "readiness" represents fresh seats of internal tension awaiting nothing more than the spark of the next cause of dissatisfaction.

Yes, this is really so: It was the sharp changes in prices in the seventies and eighties that provided the detonator of the social explosion. But such [current] rises are unknown in living memory. Over the last 3 weeks the free market torrent has swept away not only state prices but also many types of products. Prices for products in dairy stores have increased fivefold. It appears that hens have started laying eggs with an exceptionally high gold content, while prices in meat stores—hard to believe but nonetheless a fact—have increased 1,000 percent for some products!

And these meat products are not even to be found everywhere. True, those who yearned for a free market continue to assert that the store shelves will be full by the end of August. Prices are seeking equilibrium. And for as long as demand outstrips supply, they must rise....

As far as meat supplies are concerned, administrative measures are altogether unacceptable here. According to local claims, the free market's success depends largely on the peasants' interest and a well-organized trade network.

Economists are sounding the alarm: The country is on the brink of hyperinflation. It is well known that endless wage surges in the dispute with prices, unless backed by a noticeable increase in output growth and effective foreign trade, will produce nothing. And yet, one of the strikers' basic demands is actually the question of wages. Moreover, the aim is often a 100-percent increase. Production stoppages are causing turmoil in enterprises. Demands that a government be formed are coming to the fore.

The only point is: What sort of government will it be? The choice of premier has become the key issue now, following the discussion of the previous government's 9-month activity by the Sejm which, as Polish newspapers wrote, "thoroughly lambasted" the outgoing cabinet of ministers. Czeslaw Kiszczak, who received the prime minister's portfolio from the Sejm just 2 weeks ago, has submitted his resignation and asked the president to relieve him of the mission to form a government. It has only just been announced that Wojciech Jaruzelski has accepted his resignation and almost immediately offered the "floating" portfolio of chairman of the Council of Ministers to 62-year-old Tadeusz Mazowiecki, one of the "Solidarity" leaders. But even earlier the independent trade unions' organ GAZETA WYBORCZA managed to publish a large photograph of the new candidate under the headline "Our Premier."

There is an increasingly realistic concept of a new coalition involving "Solidarity," the United Peasant Party, and the Democratic Party, and this is confirmed by the potential partners. Representatives of the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, on behalf of their parties and deputies' clubs, announced their "readiness to participate in a government formed under the umbrella of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club, not for the sake of offices and sinecures but for the sake of their parties' general recognition in society."

Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee, addressing the PZPR deputies' club, declared: "We have entered a period of open struggle for power and we are threatened by a breach of agreements signed at the 'roundtable.' The situation is dangerous, but this is not the time to give up."

The PZPR is indeed living through what could be one of the most complex periods in its history. Today it is more necessary than ever before to rally the party ranks and to consolidate all forces interested in the reformative renewal of society which has always been initiated by the PZPR.

The conference of party committee secretaries from the country's 208 largest enterprises, the 14th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, and the session of the broad aktiv of Communists from the capital which have been held in Warsaw in the last few days have confirmed the need for and special importance of this process, and this testifies to the existence of healthy forces within the party which are capable of marching in the vanguard of progressive changes as before. The elaboration of an action program will be tackled by the 11th PZPR Congress which, in Rakowski's words, will evidently not be convened this year.

Opening of Polish Communist Party Plenum Reported

LD1908193689 Moscow TASS in English 1923 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw August 19 TASS—The 14th plenum of the Polish United Workers' Party [PUWP] Central Committee opened in Warsaw today to discuss the urgent socio-political situation in Poland and work out the Central Committee's position.

In his speech PUWP First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski analysed the recent political developments in Poland and explained to the Central Committee the

circumstances which made Czeslaw Kiszczak refuse to form a new government and led to the establishment of a new coalition structure in Polish parliament.

'New Look' Poland Reassesses Values

PM2008184189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch: "Poland: New Action Formula"]

[Text] Warsaw—Polish President W. Jaruzelski received Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chief editor of the SOLIDARNOSC weekly [as published] and one of Lech Walesa's top advisers on 18 August. It is not hard to guess that this fact has a greater meaning than indicated in the official report: That the topic of the meeting concerned efforts and quests associated with the formation of Poland's new government against the background of the political and economic situation in the country. IZVESTIYA readers already know from the previous dispatch that the opposition organ GAZETA WYBORCZA named Mazowiecki as the most probable candidate for the office of head of government.

The new coalition formula, with traditional ties replaced by a political formation headed by "Solidarity," accelerated the pace of events and created a storm of emotions which were, of course, by no means identical. A conference of party committee secretaries from Poland's 208 largest enterprises was held in Warsaw to evaluate the political and socioeconomic situation in the country on the eve of the 14th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Plenum, which will begin its work 19 August. Addressing this conference, First Secretary of the Central Committee Rakowski spoke of the danger contained in the new turn of events which, in his opinion, creates a deployment of forces which is distinguished not by pluralism but by bipolarity. The thesis that such a development of events could threaten socialism and its gains could clearly be heard at the conference.

Of course, forces on the other sides perceived this claim with perplexity and immediately criticized it. What gains are we talking about, they said, and what is there to be threatened, seeing that the country is on the brink of economic disaster. Even many participants in the conference were highly critical of themselves and of the party, and spoke of the need for the party's decisive perestroyka.

Briefly speaking, the new-look Poland is reassessing values, seeking ways to expand society's genuine democratization, and rejecting dogmas and stereotypes.

Before announcing his decision, Poland's president conducted a further series of consultations, while Mazowiecki had meetings with Cardinal Glemp; M. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; R. Malinowski, chairman of the United Peasant Party Main Board; J. Jozwiak, chairman of the Democratic Party Central Committee; and B. Geremek, chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club.

Replying to journalists' questions, Mazowiecki said: "Some significant historical moments have shown that the Poles are capable of arriving at new solutions, nonstandard and innovative. I am hopeful because such a psychological moment is upon us now and people feel that something depends on them."

All this is reported by newspapers under the headline "Tadeusz Mazowiecki's Meetings and Conversations," as if to confirm that his de facto appointment as prime minister is already a matter of hours away.

Strikes Disrupt Normal Life in Polish Cities

PM2008192989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Aug 89 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Strikes Continue"]

[Text] Friday's warning strike by trade network transport workers disrupted the normal pace of life in many of Poland's large cities.

Due to drivers' refusal to go out on their rounds, the network of stores in Warsaw, Wroclaw, and Szczecin were left without their morning deliveries of food supplies, including fresh bread and milk. Long lines built up. Major enterprises took measures to partially remedy the situation by making their own transport available.

The Polish capital's residents were especially indignant at the fact that food supplies were not delivered to hospitals, creches, and kindergartens. In a statement published here, Governor J. Boleslawski of Warsaw described the transport workers' actions as an exceptionally callous form of struggle for wage rises and a manifestation of gross disregard for citizens' elementary needs.

News continues to arrive from various parts of Poland reporting strikes and protests by labor collectives worried about continuing price rises resulting from the process of the Polish economy's transfer to a market footing. Many enterprises remain ready to come out on strike; talks are being held with the administration and representatives of the relevant ministries. The strike committee of road services workers has called for a suspension of protest actions, involving the blockage of highways until the conclusion of these talks. Strikes at some industrial enterprises have been suspended.

Polish Relations With Neighboring Countries Cited

PM2008194189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Poland: On Principles of Equality"]

[Text] In order to strengthen friendship with neighboring countries it is necessary to honor such conditions as respect for political, economic, and other differences, the inadmissibility of dividing neighbors into good and bad, and—even less so—interference in their internal affairs, TRYBUNA LUDU writes.

The socialist states have already made significant progress in the implementation of these principles, a progress which is stimulated primarily by the Soviet perestroyka. Formulations about the new Soviet policy and numerous statements by M.S. Gorbachev contain assurances about respect for every socialist state's sovereignty and originality. Soviet practice no longer gives any grounds to question the principle of equal treatment for all countries regardless of their size, geographical position, or domestic conditions.

Dwelling on criticism of "Solidarity" representatives by the Czechoslovak press, TRYBUNA LUDU emphasizes that it has been caused by the Polish opposition's incomprehension of the essence of equitable international relations, especially among close neighbors. Those criticized confuse political expediency with the durability of bonds between close friends. Bonds in which Poland ought to be interested above all else. Yes, there ought not to be any prohibited topics in a changing world, in the new relations between socialist states. But we obviously ought not to hurry to export our experience, let alone to lecture others on how to implement reforms or how to lay down the guidelines of perestroyka.

Poland's neighbors are now living through different stages of political and economic changes. While admitting that we need not like every single one of them, let us also admit that our own transformations do not generate feelings of sympathy everywhere and among everybody. Modesty, rejection of sundry declarations, and respect for existing differences would constitute the best attitude toward close neighbors in this situation.

Voices can also be heard talking about the need for a new and broader view of the German problem and our relations with the FRG, the newspaper goes on. True, much can be set right even now, when we recall the fate designed for Poland by Hitlerism in 1939. It is bad, however, that when we talk about the FRG we forget that our closest neighbor is the GDR, that good relations with this German state are in our common interests. More than just tolerance toward the GDR is needed. There is need for effective actions to strengthen this state and our cooperation with it, TRYBUNA LUDU emphasizes.

Polish-CSSR Dispute Over 1968 Discussed

LD1808153789 Moscow TASS in English 1533 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw August 18 TASS—The Polish Sejm (Parliament) passed a statement at its meeting yesterday on the 21st anniversary of the events in Czechoslovakia in August 1968. Its draft was presented by opposition deputies.

The statement describes the bringing of Warsaw Treaty troops into Czechoslovakia as a violation of the inalienable right of every nation to self-determination and the sincere striving for democracy, freedom and respect for human rights, PAP news agency reported. The document also notes that the troops were brought into the country without the consent of Polish society and hampered the democratisation process in Czechoslovakia.

Meantime, the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia passed a statement at today's meeting of the presidiums of the House of the people and the House of Nations. According to CTK news agency, the statement described as incompetent the assessment of the events in Czechoslovakia in August 1968 given by the Polish Senate and Sejm, which distorted their importance for Czechoslovakia's further development.

The presidiums of the two houses of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly flatly reject the above statements which constitute crude interference in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia. The houses also reject the assessment of the level of democracy in Czechoslovakia given from the positions of anti-socialist forces, the document runs.

The form and timing of the statement did a service to illegal groups in Czechoslovakia in their subversive activities connected with the celebration of the August events. Evaluating Czechoslovak history is the exceptional right of the peoples of Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovak people have their representative bodies which stand on guard of the sovereignty of the socialist state. Our people will allow nobody to push it from the socialist road, from the road of perestroyka, development and perfection of socialist democracy, the statement points out.

CSSR Issues Statement on 1968 Anniversary

LD2108104889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Today is a sad day, the 21st anniversary of the events of August 1968 in Czechoslovakia. In connection with this date, the Czechoslovak government has issued a special statement. Our correspondent in Prague, Vladimir Taranov, reports:

[Taranov] It notes, specifically, that the program of democratization and perestroyka being pursued at the initiatives and under the guidance of the Czechoslovak

Communist Party, which is supported by broad strata of the population, is developing successfully and entering a new phase. At the start of next year the Czechoslovak economy is going over to new conditions of economic management and administration with the aim of improving its efficiency. A draft constitution is being prepared, which is to be for public discussion. Intensive work is under way on a number of fundamental laws, the aim of which is to improve the political system and to deepen the democratic nature of the state.

Czechoslovakia takes an active part in the international dialogue which is promoting the reduction of tension and making it possible to cut military expenditure, develop cooperation and [word indistinct] friendship with all peoples. The CSSR government statement notes that the main task is fully satisfying people's requirements and providing them with social guarantees. To do this it is essential to work selflessly, to observe [word indistinct] and good sense. Only in that way is it possible to move on to new conditions and to avoid chaos.

It is not coincidental that at precisely this time antisocialist groups, supported from abroad, are striving to use the anniversary of 21 August 1968 for their own purposes, with the aim of provoking a wave of violence and tension. Despite the demogogy being used, their actions are directed against perestroyka and democratization, against basic human values and against socialism. The CSSR federal government, in accordance with its constitutional rights, and also at the request of work collectives and individual citizens, emphatically opposes these antisocial plans and will ensure law and order, calm and order in the country. The CSSR government has called upon all citizens of Czechoslovakia to support its efforts in this direction.

Participants in CSSR 1968 Events Interviewed

LD1908205689 Moscow TASS in English 2037 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—The Prague events of August 21, 1968, when the troops of five Warsaw Treaty states were sent to Czechoslovakia, were analysed in the Soviet newspaper IZVESTIA on Saturday [19 August]. The newspaper carries interviews with three Soviet participants in those events—a politician, a military leader and a soldier.

Kirill Mazurov, who was a member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and USSR first deputy prime minister in 1968, conducted the activities of the Soviet military and civilian personnel in Prague under the name of General Trofimov. According to him, the causes which forced the leadership headed by Brezhnev to send troops to Czechosloavkia could be understood only within the context of that concrete historical period when the "cold war" was in full swing and Western countries decided to use the events in Czechoslovakia to degenerate the socialist community.

"In that difficult international situation our only wish was to unite, avert a war and survive. I would never have agreed to conduct such an operation today. But, in the concrete situation of August 1968, I acted in accordance with my convictions, and if a similar situation had arisen today I would have behaved the same way," Mazurov said.

Giving assessment of the Prague events, Ivan Pavlovskiy, then a deputy defence minister and commander of the allied forces sent to Czechoslovakia, said: "Everything is being criticized today. All was different. But, this issue should be regarded in the context of the military-political situation which existed at that time. I am a man of convictions and my views do not change."

"At that time it was impossible to imagine that so much would change in our life twenty years later," former paratrooper Valeriy Nefyodov said.

"Czechoslovak and Soviet historians will, apparently, study to the end the difficult and contradictory events of August 1968. Assessing Czechoslovak history is the exclusive right of the Czechoslovak people. The Prague events touched the interests of political parties, the principles of cooperation of fraternal socialist countries, problems of their collective security and people's right to decide their fate independently," IZVESTIA went on to say.

The lessons of those tragic days should invigorate the efforts to defend the gains of new political thinking which denounces an administrative way of solving international problems. The time when public opinion was totally ignored, but people had to pay in full for all the troubles should never come again, IZVESTIA concludes.

West Europe

Defense Minister Yazov Concludes Finland Visit

Meets Finnish President 17 Aug

PM2108102789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Aug 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Visit Continues"]

[Text] Helsinki, 17 Aug—Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, is continuing his official visit to Finland. He was received today by Finnish President M. Koivisto, supreme commander-in-chief of the Defense Forces.

A conversation took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere. During it they touched on the supreme dynamism and stability of mutually beneficial Soviet-Finnish cooperation in various spheres. The favorable effect of the perestroyka of Soviet society—a high watershed of which was the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies—on the further normalization of the political

climate in Europe and throughout the world was stressed. Here it was noted that the good-neighborly ties between the USSR and Finland act as a constant positive factor in modern international relations.

The following took part in the conversation: On the Soviet side, B.I. Aristov, USSR ambassador to Finland; and on the Finnish side, Finnish Defense Minister O. Norrback and General J. Valtanen, commander-in-chief of the Defense Forces.

The USSR defense minister held a press conference for Finnish and foreign journalists.

On the same day Army General D.T. Yazov visited a Finnish Defense Forces armored unit and was familiarized with Finnish troops' life, living conditions, and combat training.

Visits Armed Forces Units

LD1808222689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; E. Anupyld video report]

[Text] Comrade Yazov ends his visit to Finland today.

The officers and men of the (?Parola) armored tank brigade showed the Soviet guest what they can do and how they serve. The demonstration tactical exercise conducted to mark the USSR defense minister's arrival at their unit earned a high assessment from Dmitriy Timofeyevich Yazov. In conversation with men and journalists he commented that in the small war game he had just seen no one would have survived in a real combat situation. He called upon all to continue the fight for disarmament and for a nuclear-free world. [video shows Yazov and Finnish officials watching exercises]

In the city of Tampere the USSR defense minister went around the Vladimir Ilich Lenin museum and left an inscription in the honored visitors' book. He presented the museum with a gift, an ornamental box bearing an image of Vladimir Ilich Lenin and the symbol of the USSR Armed Forces. [video shows Yazov and entourage looking around museum exhibits, signing book]

Comrade Yazov was also the guest of the airmen of the Satakunta air detachment of the Finnish Air Force. Demonstration flights were carried out at Pirkkala air base. The Finnish airmen demonstrated their prowess and skill in mastery of modern flying technology. [video shows Yazov and entourage watching flying display, fighter taking off and doing aerobatics]

It should be noted that the Finnish press, radio, and television have given broad coverage to the Soviet minister's visit, laying particular stress on the fact that it has taken place in a spirit of glasnost and openness. All the Finnish newspapers, perhaps, today published the statement made by Comrade Yazov at a press conference to the effect that the numbers of Soviet troops stationed in the Soviet-Finnish border areas are fewer than the numbers of the Finnish Defense Forces, and that is on a sector that is 1,665 km long. Not for nothing do the Finns say that our common border is a border of friendship and confidence. [video shows air display, Soviet and Finnish flags flying]

Leaves Finland for Home

LD1808201389 Moscow TASS in English 1953 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Helsinki August 18 TASS—Soviet Defense Minister General Dmitriy Yazov, who was staying on an official visit in Finland, gave dinner at the Soviet Embassy in honour of his Finnish counterpart Ole Norrback, at which the two ministers exchanged speeches.

In the evening, Yazov left for home. At the airport, he was seen off by Norrback and other officials.

Arrives Back in Moscow

LD1908060489 Moscow TASS in English 0559 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov returned to Moscow from Helsinki today upon completion of his official visit to Finland at the invitation of his Finnish counterpart Ole Norrback.

Summarizes Visit, Applauds Ties

LD2108100989 Moscow TASS in English 0944 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 21 TASS—Soviet Defense Minister General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov has referred to relations between the Soviet Union and Finland "as an example of the exercise of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems".

Ending his official visit to Finland General Yazov told TASS that the visit was yet another step in the business of strengthening the traditions of genuine goodneighbourliness and equal partnership that meet the lasting interests of the peoples of the two countries, Europe and the world as a whole.

"The principles of equality, mutual respect, sovereignty and non- interference in the internal affairs of each other have been fully implemented in Soviet-Finnish relations," Yazov emphasised.

The Soviet defence minister said that a high level and stability of Soviet-Finnish relations and good prospects for their further development in all fields were pointed out during his meeting with Finnish President Mauno Koivosto, and that it was emphasised with satisfaction that the 1948 Soviet-Finnish Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was the firm foundation of these relations.

The chief result of his visit to Finland, in Yazov's view, is that it serves to further strengthen mutual understanding and trust and broaden cooperation between the Soviet Union and Finland, including that in the military field.

"The Soviet Union is profoundly interested in securing Europe's north as a zone of peace and cooperation," Yazov said.

Ferry Link With Schleswig-Holstein Planned
AU2707120189 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 27 Jul 89 p 1

[Report by Diethart Goos: "Soviets Now Favor Ferry Port in Eastern Prussia"]

[Excerpt] Kiel—The year-long tug-of-war for a ferry link between the Soviet Union and Schleswig-Holstein now seems to be taking a surprising turn. While the Soviets have so far favored their Baltic Sea ferry port in Klaipeda in Lithuania, they now prefer the Kaliningrad area, where big German-Soviet projects are planned.

So far, the new ferry line was hindered by Bonn's defense policy objections. Thus, the FRG Government adopted the reservations of Brussels NATO headquarters, according to which the railroad ferry could be used for the speedy transportation of Soviet troops in the direction of Western Europe in case of an emergency and had shelved the project at the beginning of the 1980's. Yesterday, a government spokesman assured DIE WELT in Kiel that these reservations are no longer considered relevant in view of the political development in the Soviet Union.

Furthermore, DIE WELT learned from a well-informed source that eve though the ferry project was not broached during Communist Party Chief Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Bonn in mid-June, a positive decision on principle by both sides is expected to be made by the end of the year. In talks with the Kiel land government, Soviet Shipbuilding Minister Volmer cited environmental problems in Kleipeda and the heavy traffic in this port because of other ferry lines, such as the one to Mukran on Ruegen in the GDR, as reasons for the surprising preference for a new ferry port in Eastern Prussia near Kaliningrad. Reportedly, the Mukran route, where six new railroad ferries for 108 railroad cars each are to be put into service by 1991, is not fully used and also has technical problems concerning switching the cars from Soviet wide gauge to West European narrow gauge. [passage omitted]

International Scientific Seminar Opens in Sicily
LD1108013589 Moscow TASS in English 0841 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Rome August 21 TASS—The importance of cooperation between scientists throughout the world to prevent an ecological disaster, the need for using the latest achievements in science for the good of all mankind and a search for ways of peaceful uses of modern weaponry are the main topics which will be discussed by scientists from various countries, including the USSR, the U.S. and China, for several days. They gathered for an international scientific seminar which opened in the city of Erice, Sicily on Sunday.

In a message to seminar participants, Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti expressed confidence that the task of science is to promote the development of cooperation between scientists throughout the world, between the East and the West and to narrow the gap between the North and the South. The document points to the contribution of scientists from various countries to lessening the threat of nuclear and chemical weapons to humanity.

Pope John Paul II also addressed a message of greetings to scientists who gathered in Erice.

In the opinion of a co-sponsor of the forum, Italian Physicist Antonino Zicchichi, the most important task of seminar participants lies in a search for new ways of efficient peaceful uses of military technology being released as a result of disarmament processes. In this connection the Italian press calls attention to a project worked out by Soviet scholars. A Soviet scientific delegation led by Academician Yevgeniy Velikhov intends to make a proposal on the use of military missiles for geological surveying aimed at studying reasons of earthquakes.

Among other proposals which will be discussed by seminar participants is an idea of using military booster rockets for orbiting a series of satellites for monitoring the state of the environment and for urgent notification on natural calamaties.

Search for Missing French Art Collector Continues
PM2108101989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Unattributed report on comment by Yu. Skornyakov, chief of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Internal Affairs Main Administration Operations and Criminal Investigation Department, under the general heading "What Happened to Garrik Basmajian; French Art Collector Disappeared Without Trace in Moscow More Than 2 Weeks Ago"]

[Text] At IZVESTIYA's request, Yu. Skornyakov, chief of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Internal Affairs Main Administration Operations and Criminal Investigation Department, reported the following on the morning of 16 August:

"We attach exceptional significance to what happened. A great many resources haves been activated to search for Garrik Basmajian. A special group has been set up, and a headquarters is at work. The progress of the investigation is being monitored by USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs leaders.

"Unfortunately, the measures taken have still not yielded reassuring results. Our workers are carrying out intensive work not only in Moscow but also in other places. Several theories are being examined, and all of them are being studied thoroughly. It is possible that the French collector was the victim of a crime, which resulted in his death. It is not excluded that he was taken as a hostage or that he was the victim of an accident. There have not been sufficiently convincing arguments 'against' any of these three theories. They are all feasible, they are all possible.

"In the interests of the investigation and the person who disappeared without trace, I cannot report what specific measures have been taken. I shall only repeat that everything is being done to uncover this secret."

Political & Social

'Text' of Gorbachev 11 Jul Leningrad Discussion

PM1908222189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Aug 89 First Edition pp 1-2

[Unattributed account of "M.S. Gorbachev's Conversation With 'Izhorskiy Zavod' Association" workers in Leningrad on 11 July]

[Text] During his visit to Leningrad M.S. Gorbachev visited the "Izhorskiy Zavod" Association 11 July 1989 and had several meetings and conversations with the association's working people.

The text of the conversation appears in the just-published eighth issue of IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS.

Gorbachev: I am comparing my impressions from my present trip to Leningrad with those from my previous trip. It seems to me as if today I am meeting people who are somehow different: They seem to be the same Leningraders, but they have already changed. During this brief period we all—not just people in "Izhorskiy Zavod," not just Leningraders, but the country as a whole—have traveled a long path of changes. We have gone through a lot for our perestroyka's sake, and now we all are probably perturbed and worried by just one thing: What to do to ensure that the cause of perestroyka is continued, and that it is actually continued more decisively and yields tangible results. That was indeed the topic of brief but I would say very frank and meaningful conversations with Leningraders.

People conveyed to me their worry and their desire to understand: Where are we, what is happening to us? What new steps must we take to ensure that the cause of perestroyka is continued? I would like to say a few words about this.

There is a simple answer to the question: Why do we need perestroyka? We want to achieve simple things: To ensure that people in our country live better, that they feel confident and free, that they can intervene in all processes occurring inside the country, that they feel masters of this country. This seems to be a simple formula, but its implementation has proved to be far from simple. Hence the need to implement an economic and a political reform.

Speaking about the main feature of the economic reform, it is to demolish the administrative-edict system of our economy's management, a system which has outlived its usefulness. In a complex and vast economy, in the conditions of diversity which distinguish our national economy, it is impossible to decide everything at the center and to issue all edicts from the center. Therefore we must reform our economy, and this reform must be thorough—no partial solutions can be of help to us any longer, comrades.

But what is the meaning of thorough? Man must be brought back into production in a new capacity, in a new role. Man must be brought back into production as the decisive force of economic management. And this requires us to decisively change the situation at the enterprises themselves. This is precisely why we started with enterprises, with the elaboration of the Law on the Enterprise.

We embarked on reforms also in the past, but we started from the top and ultimately the reforms misfired, lost their meaning, lost their drive, and everything remained as it was. That is what happened in the fifties and sixties when, at Khrushchev's initiative, programs to reorganize both the economy and the party were planned. Their implementation initially produced sound results, but later everything reverted to the starting point. That also happened in 1965, when the March and September plenums of the Central Committee were held, with whose decisions we associated major changes. Once again we failed to fully implement the reforms which were launched.

This is why, with perestroyka under way, when we deemed it necessary to reform the economy, the political sphere, and the management of the entire social life, we turned to past experience and pondered it a long time. We cannot elaborate a correct policy unless we look at our past activity. This is precisely why we are now analyzing our history today so carefully, so self-critically, and maybe with excessive emotion and overreaction. Because the roots of the situation that faced us in the early eighties go far back into the past.

An analysis of past experience showed that it is necessary to begin with the labor collectives, to involve them in real life through a perestroyka of our entire economic system and thus to reveal the potential of the socialist system of economic management. This is how the State Enterprise Law came into being. This is a very important and major step despite all its shortcomings. Many critical remarks can be heard today, saying that this law has failed to properly come into effect and that it does not work. This is true. But the important point was to make a start.

Our economic cadres and our specialists have started to gradually change their thinking, and a reassessment of past ideas is under way within the working class itself, among working people's collectives. For the first time you have started looking at yourselves from a position of high exactingness and have started talking about the way we used to work and the way we must work in the future.

Another very important aspect. We have taken the path of changing the management system. For the time being, here we are still lagging behind what was enshrined in the Enterprise Law: The law gives new rights to the labor collective, it delegates to the collective a chance to display initiative, but there is a lot still left over from the old edict system—from the viewpoint of planning and

from the viewpoint of actions by the immediate management workers. The work has not been finalized, and this holds back the autonomy, the display of initiative, and the selection of new paths and approaches within the production collectives themselves. I think that this is the most serious misfortune.

The point is that it is necessary to change the methods of mutual relations between enterprises and central management organs; we need new economic methods and new economic levers to produce a suitable effect on enterprises, to stimulate sound work, and to encourage initiative. We are forced to elaborate all this—normatives, various forms of economic influence including credit, and generally everything concerning the finance and credit system. We still have not defined the nature of the tax system, we lack the relevant experience. And yet economic methods presuppose that we must know all this well, that we have a sound grasp of all this. We have yet to achieve all this.

And so it happened that we abandoned the old system while there was still a lot to be thought out and resolved as regards the new system. Consequently, the situation at many enterprises is very unsettled. People believe that their expectations are unlikely to materialize, that the law's provisions are being overridden by sundry instructions and the retention of the administrative-edict methods. All this is so, all this is true. This is the reality of the present stage of transition, its entire complexity.

We realize that it is impossible to boost the collectives' interest unless we switch to new forms of organizing economic life, unless we restructure economic relations in both the agrarian sector and industry. We are paving the way for economic accountability, self-financing, contracts, leasing, cooperatives. But a great deal hinges on the lack of solutions to questions like price formation. But prices must also be looked at in order to adopt economic methods and economic accountability, to ensure that the enterprise spends only what it earns. Economically substantiated prices are needed in the entire price mechanism. This question still remains unsolved. So far we have been postponing its solution until the time when better prerequisites for this are created, even though we are clearly aware that it will be impossible to fully implement the economic reform without the reform of price formation.

Briefly speaking, we are now living through what is probably the most complex and important stage in the country's life. It is important that we do not lose our bearings in this situation. Especially since life is presenting us with largely new problems in the form of sundry shortages, tension, and breakdowns in trade. This is today's reality, and people are justified in raising these questions.

We shall cope with these problems. But in order to do so we need primarily to improve the health of the finances and the market situation. There are several ways to do this. The main one is to boost the quantity of consumer goods. It is necessary to take immediate measures which would balance money supply and goods. This is why it is now necessary to pursue a very rigid savings policy. At present, dear comrades, this is how things stand (and you must know this): Labor productivity in the national economy is rising by 3-5 percent annually, with wages rising by 6-10 percent. This produces a further exacerbation of the market situation. Effective demand has risen higher still, while the opportunities to satisfy it increase more slowly.

This is why the government has now been set the paramount task of submiting relevant specific programs aimed at balancing the market situation. This is simply a vital necessity.

You might say: Where has everything gone? Why is there less of everything? I must tell you that, with the exception of some categories of foodstuffs and industrial commodities, the output of everything has risen over these years, the rise has been respectable, and output is still rising. But this growth lags far behind effective demand—this is the problem.

Could we pose the question in such a way as to revert to the edict system? Maybe it is necessary to block everything once more, to halt the processes associated with reform? No, I think that we need to amend the reform but we must continue its active implementation.

The most important and central question facing us now is the economy. The solution of problems which have emerged in the economy will enable us to conduct matters in other spheres with greater confidence. And primarily to more successfully solve the social problems.

Over the next 2 years we must lay the foundations so that, within the framework of the next 5-year plan, we can reach a level which will enable us to ensure normal food supplies for the country. The potential is there. This, I would say, is the paramount task. Here we are offering collective farms [kolkhoz] and state farms [sovkhoz] greater opportunities for economic management, for leasing and contracts, we are encouraging personal subsidiary farms and the integration of industrial enterprises with kolkhozes and sovkhozes, in other words we are developing all the forms which would boost agricultural output. This is first.

Second. We will go all out to ensure that living conditions in the countryside are improved. Unless this is done, no capital investment and no resources channeled into the countryside will be of any help. We need to provide amenities for people in the countryside, to make them interested in the results of their work and thus arrive at a solution to the food problem. This demands tremendous efforts by all of society.

Of course, it is also necessary to modernize the base of agriculture, and primarily the processing industry. After all, at present up to 30 percent, and at times even more, of agricultural losses are due to shortcomings in the storage and processing of agricultural produce. This is absurd. This is why we elaborated a 7-year program for the development of the food industry, involved industry's defense sectors in it, and are now monitoring its implementation and holding people more strictly accountable for its implementation. Our opinion is that the situation with food supplies will start changing for the better in the very near future.

People ask—and this question was also raised at the Congress of People's deputies: Is it really impossible to ease the market strain by increasing import purchases? Well, first of all, we are already spending foreign currency to buy some of our food supplies. Second, we spend part of our foreign currency to boost consumer goods resources. But some economists present matters differently: Obtain larger sums on credit and use these credits to obtain goods. This is acceptable as a temporary measure to help ease tension in the market, but as a long-term policy it is of course a different matter. Our long-term policy must presuppose the creation of our own base for boosting the output of food and industrial goods. This is why today, no matter what tasks labor collectives may be tackling, they must make their contribution to boosting the country's commodity resources. In essence, this is our common task, a nationwide task, and this is an appeal I address to you, the "Izhorskiy Zavod" workers.

The situation on housing, which I see perturbs the "Izhorskiy Zavod" workers, is as follows: We have doubled the pace of housing construction following a long period of stagnation. But even this is not enough. This is why the 13th 5-Year Plan envisages a faster rate of housing construction to ensure that the solution of the housing problem, as presented at the 27th party congress, becomes feasible. It is not just a matter of building apartment blocks, it is also a matter of sanitary engineering, furniture, and everything else that is needed to turn houses into homes. This is a major and complex problem. We believe that we can and must channel in this direction more funds from production construction. The housing problem affects all regions in the country, including Leningrad, where it is acute and where many people still live in communal housing, hostels, and so on.

This problem must also be solved here in your association. So far, the "Izhorskiy Zavod" workers have not done enough. According to your director, you commission 200-250 apartments annually. This is not enough. After all, your collective runs into thousands and therefore you need a different pace in housing construction—involving both Leningrad's construction industry organizations and the own-resources method of construction which is being applied everywhere now. You can no longer rely only on construction industry organizations, it is necessary to mobilize your own potential. A powerful association like "Izhorskiy Zavod" must solve these questions in a different fashion. And this must be done without delay. You have the funds, and I think that priority must be given to housing despite the fact that your enterprises also faces acute questions of reconstruction. But housing is a special problem.

Generally speaking, I would like to conclude this part of my argument by saying this to you. Comrades, it is necessary to firmly march along the path of economic reform, the path we have taken. You cannot expect manna from heaven. We have no stock, we have no reserves. On the contrary, everything is totally exhausted. This is why it is necessary to keep to our main guideline—soberly, firmly, and step by step to pursue the path of perestroyka, to assimilate new economic forms, new forms of management, new forms of more sensible and more efficient economic management. There is no alternative.

People say: Why did we embark on both economic and political reform simultaneously?

I already mentioned the shortcomings of past economic reforms. Their weakness lay in the fact that they were "armchair" reforms and were implemented at the level of managers and leadership cadres. This did not affect the people, they did not participate in these reforms, and this is why they petered out. And the main point was that, since the people were not involved in these problems, they did not stand up for them. So how can people get involved in perestroyka? Only through their interests, through glasnost. People must know everything that is happening in the country. People must know what is happening in their rayon, in their city. Not only must they be informed of decisions that have been made but also, through their representatives, they must participate in the making of these decisions, thus guaranteeing changes and the feasibility of the policy being pursued. And this requires a fresh look at all forms in which our society functions. How do soviets work? What is the party's role? What is the role of labor collectives? What is the role of trade unions, the Communist Youth League [Komsomol], the other social organizations, and—the main thing—the role of every labor collective and every individual?

This is why we need political reform. Without it we will not succeed in the policy of perestroyka. The main actor of perestroyka is man, our man. Perestroyka will be successful provided we really involve people in all affairs of state and society through democracy, through political reform. Only thus. And only thus will perestroyka become irreversible, only thus will nobody succeed in halting this process. This will be ensured within the framework of democracy and glasnost.

What are the criteria of glasnost and democracy? They are our socialist values—our social system, our public ownership which takes different forms, the absence of

exploitation of man by man, social security. All these are our values, and democracy and glasnost must promote their consolidation.

You might say that glasnost and democracy are at times exploited for completely different purposes, not in the interest of socialism, not in the interests of the people. This is true! So what is the conclusion to be drawn? Curtail the processes of democracy? On the contrary. It is within the framework of glasnost and democracy that those who try to insinuate alien values and alien banners and slogans must be put in their place. Rejection of glasnost and democracy would testify to lack of confidence and mistrust in people. This is the only way I could describe the situation if we were to yield to slogans calling on us to take the path of curtailing democracy.

Here again we must carry on with what we have started. The political reform must be raised to a higher level, to its new, second stage--a real transfer of power to the soviets. This is what is acquiring tremendous importance now. In order to achieve this we need to do some more work on the new electoral law. It is intended that every republic will elaborate its own new electoral law.

We need to carefully examine the opinions expressed by workers collectives on the nomination of candidate deputies. We must learn a lesson from the last election campaign, when there were many cases of our production collectives being somehow left out of the democratic processes.

I think that you have already worked things out and have gotten rid of this unnecessary modesty, that you gained experience from that last campaign. But the main point obviously is to ensure that the opinion of workers collectives is really implemented. Meetings with many representatives of the working class and labor collectives within the framework of the Supreme Soviet's work convince one that they are wonderful people—clever, capable of passing judgment on major questions of politics while remaining committed to socialism and the cause of the working class.

This is why I share the concern expressed about the outcome of the last elections. We cannot allow a situation to develop in the country whereby some people run things while others work. No, this is unacceptable under socialism. The working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia can nominate very many talented people to the local soviets. Moreover, production collectives should nominate workers, engineers, and economic management cadres—but their voice must be heard more loudly than during the previous election campaign.

But one thing is clear: We still have to make a lot of decisions before the forthcoming election. First of all, it is necessary to adopt two laws: On republic (regional) economic accountability and on the rights of local soviets. It is very important to ensure that soviets are given real powers. This will enable local organs of power to function meaningfully. So, here too a lot of work lies ahead of us. I thus call on you to agree that we must carry on along the path of political reform, of our society's democratization.

We all are worried by the fact that interethnic problems have been exacerbated in the last few years. They will be discussed at a plenum of the party Central Committee. I think that the solution of our interethnic problems lies not in the demolition of what has been created, not along the path of dismantling our federation, but along the path of the total revelation of its potential. This is a key idea. We must give real meaning to the sovereignty of union republics and the autonomy of national formations. We must work to ensure that people of all nationalities, regardless of where they live, feel calm and confident both now and in the future.

This is a realistic and humane path, leading to harmonization of the interests of society and of the peoples inhabiting our vast country. Those who push people along different paths are playing with fire. To split and divide our people, to reshape the federation itself—these are nothing but irresponsible actions. The party Central Committee plenum will have something more specific to say in this regard. I believe that the Central Committee plenum will also discuss problems of the Russian Federation's development. They also exist.

Voice: I have the following question...

Gorbachev: You want to make sure I don't leave, is that it? (laughter) Don't worry, I won't leave before I answer. (applause)

To put it briefly, comrades, you realize that we are now at the most complex stage of transition in perestroyka, when our entire policy is becoming reality. There are so many new developments today that they confuse the mind and cause worry and anxiety. I perceive this anxiety as something perfectly normal, as proof of the fact that people are worried about the country. But we all must remain very responsible, we must understand each other. No matter how we debate, we must be united in this debate in the interests of the success of the policy of perestroyka, in the interests of society's renewal, in our common interests. There you have it, this is what I wanted to tell you briefly, in summary form, to give you a short review. (applause)

M.S. Gorbachev then answered questions—written and spoken—from workers.

Question: Most developed countries have state vocational training programs for production leaders. What measures, if any, are being taken in our country in this respect?

Gorbachev: Yes, this is a fundamental question. In short, perestroyka relies on cadres. Party cadres, soviet cadres, cadres in our economy, and science cadres. Today it is

very important for us to create a modern system for cadre training and retraining that is equal to our requirements. Such proposals are being worked out in many regions. But you are right to ask about a state program. We need a system in work, and such a system is being worked out.

Question: During the nomination of the prosecutor general at the Supreme Soviet many of the questions put to Comrade Sukharev went unanswered. Why was he appointed before all the answers to those questions were clarified? This job makes particular demands of the person doing it, and the course of the discussion of his appointment and the procedure whereby he was appointed are of concern to society.

The second question is: Are people satisfied with perestroyka's progress? Major tasks have not been carried out. Isn't this happening because new content is being shoehorned into old forms?

Gorbachev: Well, I've already tried to answer the second question.

As for the first question, Comrade Sukharev's activity as a contender for the post of prosecutor general was thoroughly discussed. You know that Comrade Sukharev only started this job recently. This system needs quite major restructuring and large changes. Comrade Sukharev, as is clear from his previous activity and his political and other qualities, deserves to be trusted. That was the majority opinion.

When comrades talk about Comrade Sukharev's candidacy they clearly also have in mind the problem that emerged in connection with the organization of the investigation into crimes in Uzbekistan. A commission has been set up to investigate all that. It is already hard at work. And this independent commission of deputies—including lawyer deputies—will draw its own conclusions. If these conclusions demand the adoption of certain decisions, those decisions will be made, comrades—whoever they apply to. You can be quite sure of that.

We should resolutely struggle to strengthen law and order and resolutely combat organized crime and those who exploit the prevailing situation in society in their own interests. So we have many concerns in this area. I am sure we were not wrong to choose Comrade Sukharev.

Question: Don't you think that urgent measures should be taken to eliminate cooperatives that buy up goods merely to resell them [kooperativ-perekupshchik]?

Gorbachev: We need cooperatives. We are in favor of those cooperatives which increase the supply of goods and help to repair equipment, homes, and apartments—that is, help in those matters which the state system cannot always undertake. There are cooperatives which, in general, are indispensable.

Voice: Cooperative members engage in reselling and speculation.

Gorbachev: Cooperatives which buy up state foodstuffs and certain industrial goods are another matter. They get some T-shirts, draw some flowers on them, and hike the price....

Voice: Ninety percent of cooperatives are like that.

Gorbachev: Those cooperatives have to be investigated. But who should do the investigating? And how should the cooperative movement be run in general? We in the Central Committee and the government have discussed these questions and we came to the conclusion which was the basis for the Council of Ministers resolution: The question of regulating all cooperative activities should be transferred to local authorities. Which cooperatives should exist, which shouldn't, what taxes should be levied on them—these questions should be handed over to local organs for their examination.

(Noise in the auditorium)

Gorbachev: Do I take that to mean that comrades doubt the possibility of resolving the matter in this way?

Voices: Yes!

Gorbachev: And what dictates that attitude? Is there no confidence in local organs?

Voices: No!

Gorbachev: The Leningrad press has already published proposals on cooperatives—the newspaper devoted an entire page to it. Admittedly, I wasn't able to read through it all, but I saw it. I'm told it contains information about cooperatives—those we need and should continuing operating, and those which should be closed down. Is that right? This means that Leningraders themselves intend to decide which cooperatives should operate and which should be closed down. This is right, comrades.

Many republics, krays, and oblasts have found a certain machinery for administering cooperatives through the tax system. Some cooperatives are taxed at a certain rate, while others—those which let their prices run riot—attract a higher tax rate. Admittedly, comrades say, a cooperative will just raise its prices again. That is why we need to investigate matters specifically—in cities, rayons, and oblasts. You should decide for yourselves which cooperatives will exist and what the tax system should be. Look into it—after all you're entitled to. The

government resolution has been adopted. I think the fact that the Leningrad Soviet has published its proposals on these matters shows that Leningraders will voice their opinions.

Voice: Mikhail Sergeyevich! Exactly a year ago Comrade Yuriy Filippovich Solovyev visited us. The workers spoke out and said: Why do we have to go to the city of Pushkin to shop? Comrade Solovyev said at the time that the situation would change in 2 years. How can a leader like that be trusted?

Gorbachev: If nothing comes of this we will draw conclusions and seek ways of resolving the matter. But it's not Moscow's job to seal the fate of every cooperative.

Voice: I'm worried about ethnic relations. The fact is that many deputies have been speaking at the Congress. And what are they saying? Why is there so much abuse? Is there really no other way for the Congress deputies to resolve these matters? (applause)

Gorbachev: Good. I'll continue my answers. I'll try to answer more concisely. (he reads a question)

Question: When Comrade Obolenskiy put forward his candidacy for the post of Supreme Soviet chairman at the Congress, why did you not stand up and say that democracy had to be protected in this matter? After all, you weren't threatened in any way. (applause)

Gorbachev: Three candidates were nominated: Gorbachev, Obolenskiy, and Yeltsin. Yeltsin declined the nomination. The Congress did not include Obolenskiy on the voting list. I sat there and listened. Why? Comrades, I think we should trust the process that is under way. For me the question of whether the democratic process should extend to me or not does not exist. It does extend to me, and you cannot fail to have noticed that over the 4 years of perestroyka. Everything that society currently has at its disposal and all information is open to glasnost and democracy. I have probably made some contribution to this. (applause) I do not want your sympathy, no. Understand me, I adhere to the path of democracy. If I were faced with the choice of returning to the old system of leading and running the country, I would immediately resign [ya by nemedlenno otkazalsya ot svoyego posta].

After all, if you look at the current processes in society, everything is happening through democratization: the democratization of economic life, the democratization of political life, the democratization of the cultural sphere, and the democratization of all social forces. I stand by this choice and will do so to the very end. I will do everything I can to democratize society. I see the aim of my activity as being to create conditions which, whatever the circumstances and whatever the changes, would not permit a return to the administrative-edict system that suppressed the individual—much less to any personality cult. That is contrary to my convictions. I don't want the vast powers vested in me on behalf of the people to be used differently. They should only be used in the interests of the people and in the interests of perestroyka and the development of democracy in the country. (applause)

At the Congress of People's Deputies we heard all sorts of opinions and different arguments were voiced. We all saw a cross-section, as it were, of the real picture of our society. I consider this an important accomplishment of the Congress. On the other hand, the Congress marked the start of the real handover of power to the soviets. This process will be further developed in the local soviet elections, and it will be of immense importance for our country's destiny.

We need democracy in order to change our lives for the better. And that is why just playing at parliamentary procedures and scoring points is unworthy of people's deputies. I am profoundly certain of that, too. You will note that a great deal of time is being spent discussing the candidate ministers. Deputies are trying to clarify matters and want to hear the right answers so as to make a conscientious choice rather than just mechanically ratifying candidate ministers. This takes a great deal of time, but, I think it is simply necessary for all of us: for ministers, deputies, and all of society.

We should know our government—the people whom we charge with resolving matters at such a crucial stage in our history. Sometimes we hear ourselves rebuked for having delayed the Supreme Soviet session. Yes, there have been drawbacks, but bear in mind that the democratic process always has certain drawbacks. But when it comes to the crunch, its value considerably outweighs all the drawbacks several times over.

Question: Do you intend to grant truly equal rights to the different forms of ownership—state, cooperative, and private ownership—and how soon?

Gorbachev: We will do everything to reveal the potential of socialist ownership—through economic autonomy, the lease system, and cooperatives. I myself do not foresee—and, it seems to me, it is hard for any of us to foresee—our selling off plants to private owners.

Voice: What about selling them off to cooperative owners?

Gorbachev: Cooperatives—by all means!

Voice: What about land?

Gorbachev: Land too. It belongs to all the people, but it can be used in different ways, including being leased to peasants, cooperatives, and other associations. So we should be open, bold, and decisive in this. When we

adopt the law on leasing we should make it a rule that the soviets implement the right of soviet power as landowners—the right to lease land regardless of the wishes of certain leaders.

But I am against private ownership. This is unacceptable to us. I am against private ownership in general. (applause)

Voice: Mikhail Sergeyevich...

Gorbachev: What is it comrade? Had you been planning to work for capitalists?

Voice: I don't mind, as long as they pay well!

Gorbachev: That's your personal viewpoint. I am sure that the working class will not reject socialism, since it can resolve its far-reaching social tasks through public ownership. But we use and will continue to use socialist ownership within the framework of enterprises' economic independence and the restructuring of production relations, and in the various forms of organizing economic life. There are limitless opportunities in this area. I don't think there are many people longing for capitalism in our country.

Question: What is the aim of your trip to the "Izhorskiy Zavod"?

Gorbachev: I've long wanted to come here. Your association is a concern where a very important experiment is under way. We are pinning our economic future on it.

Question: Are there any figures on the work of concerns like ours?

Gorbachev: Yes. The figures are interesting. The best figures have probably been returned by Moscow's "Kvantemp." Very promising prospects are emerging there. Intersectorial barriers and barriers between science and production are being broken down. Enormous room for maneuver is opening up as a result.

Question: We still don't know the timetable for elections to local—rayon, city, oblast, and republic—soviets. On the basis of what law will they be held?

Gorbachev: I've already said which law. Each republic is drawing up its own legislative act. As far as timetables are concerned—the people's masses will be taking part in the elections to local and republic soviets. There will probably be 2 million deputies alone. And how many candidates will there be? Can you imagine the scope of this campaign? So there will be a great deal of preparatory work—both legislative and organizational—to be done. Many people advocate that the elections be held in early spring—just when the powers of the current deputies expire. There have been other proposals too. But this question will be decided by the republics themselves.

Question: How many years, in the view of economists, will it take to solve our urgent socioeconomic problems?

Gorbachev: In principle I have already said how we view the resolution of these problems. I don't think we have much time. The questions of food and other consumer goods must be resolved immediately, without delay. That is the understanding at the "grass roots" and at the "top," and, combining the efforts of the two, we should all work to that end. The Supreme Soviet commissions and committees and the Council of Ministers are working on this score: some on the budget, others on urgent measures, and so forth. We are tackling this right now.

We have enormous potential—human, intellectual, natural, and technical—at our disposal. We should give it some scope and set the wheels in motion. Then we would be able to make our country prosper. I have no doubts about that. Why is it still important to buy fewer things rather than pinning our hopes on imports? This should be done so as not to get ourselves used to parasitism. We should solve our problems ourselves and learn to live and work differently. We live the way we work. If we work better we'll live better. If we work more intelligently, we'll change! It is all within us! We ourselves should change, then our entire society will change too.

Question: Will Leningrad Oblast be permitted to set up free trade areas?

Gorbachev: That will have to be discussed.

Question: Why has Comrade Ryzhkov nominated as ministers those people who have brought about the country's economic disorganization?

Gorbachev: I cannot agree with that. First, our government headed by Comrade Ryzhkov has been formed over the past 4 years. And that is why it would be wrong to say that this government bears responsibility for the country's disorganization. Moreover, some of those ministers who worked in the former government were not proposed by Comrade Ryzhkov, and some candidates—as you know—were rejected by the Supreme Soviet.

Question: Mikhail Sergeyevich, why has blanket TV coverage of USSR Supreme Soviet sessions been stopped? I think that this is a retrograde step.

Gorbachev: There are different views on that. The First Congress of People's Deputies and the first Supreme Soviet session had to be given blanket coverage. And we stand by that. The Congress was shown live, while the Supreme Soviet sessions were recorded, but virtually everything was shown. But there are certain limits. People say that the broadcasts ended at 0200. It was proposed that the Supreme Soviet sessions be shown in the evening when most people are home. Let them decide for themselves whether to watch it or not. I must say that when the Congress was working many people

were not. (laughter) And you'll probably back that up. But we're in favor of full coverage. And in the future, when the Supreme Soviet is in session, we will stand by that prescription—there should be full information. Not blanket coverage, but full information. I would repeat that, basically, TV shows virtually everything.

Question: What is your attitude to elections only from territorial and national-territorial okrugs, without social organizations?

Gorbachev: You know, although there have been many arguments, the nomination of candidates from social organization was accompanied by diverse opinions, arguments, and interests. In general, we have gained quite a strong intake from social organizations. Take economists and representatives of other sections of our intelligentsia—to a considerable extent they have come through from social organizations. There was criticism of the way in which party candidates were nominated. But there was virtually no criticism about the comrades who were actually nominated by the party. They are a very strong team!

So why did the general secretary seem to "avoid the people" at the elections? I'd like to let you in on the general secretary's thinking. Initially I wanted to run in a territorial okrug. But then people would have said that the general secretary was deserting the party. There would have been more idle gossip. That's why I said: Let everyone discuss it and analyze it, a correct solution will be found.

Question: What's your attitude to religion?

Gorbachev: I take the position of our Constitution on that question, and I believe that the constitutional position should be consistently implemented.

Question: Do you personally believe in God?

Gorbachev: No, of course not! I just know that I was baptized and that during the baptism I was given a different name.

Question: What is your attitude to direct elections to the soviets and within the party?

Gorbachev: What are we talking about? Elections to top posts?

Voice: Top posts.

Gorbachev: I believe that all this is in our hands. However, I am not impressed with the practice of electing the president, nor with the title of "president" as such—this does not quite accord with my convictions. I am more in favor of a council, a collegium, a presidium to include representatives of all republics. I believe that this is more in keeping with our democracy and with the needs of our federation. However, ultimately this can be discussed and decided by a referendum: Do we want this kind of authority or another?

As for elections within the party, here the traditions go back to Lenin, and they should not be ignored. One thing is important, namely to ensure that all our report-and-election campaigns are democratic. And there is more and more evidence of this now. I believe that the upcoming report-and-election campaign in the party will differ greatly from the previous ones. The process of intraparty democracy is gathering strength.

Question: What is your opinion of the state acceptance system?

Gorbachev: When economic accountability triumphs and every enterprise has a stake in producing high-grade output, there will be no need for the state acceptance system. If you are mature enough, you may be able to do away with it right now.

Question: Comrade General Secretary, what is your view of the utterances of the economist Leontief, an American of Russian origin, about using foreign specialists as consultants at our enterprises?

Gorbachev: I take a positive view of this, and of drawing on experience in technology and the organization of finances, credit, and banking—they have amassed much that is useful in these spheres. And in switching to economic methods of economic management, this experience will be useful to us. Incidentally, contacts of this kind already exist, cooperation of this kind is already under way.

Question: Your opinion on the expediency of a review of privileges and benefits?

Gorbachev: This, comrades, is what we have agreed. A great debate is under way on the subject of benefits and privileges. I am a level-headed sort of person, but I tend toward radical solutions when it comes to big questions. In the past I believed that this can be resolved in one fell swoop. Then I asked for the appropriate information and was astounded at the system which has taken shape in this sphere during the years of Soviet power.

We asked for information from the trade unions as to what enterprises and trade unions have at their disposal. It emerged that as a result of the introduction of economic accountability—republic, oblast, and enterprise economic accountability—enterprises' opportunities are expanding and the volume of benefits will increase. Both in republics and in oblasts there are many enterprises right now which can already boast their "pickings." They have medical units which are better than any medical unit currently in existence in our country. There are enterprises which have their own sanatoriums on the

Black Sea and holiday homes in the Riga Bay and the Gulf of Finland. But, after all, these have been earned by the collective, so let it enjoy them.

Furthermore, there is a special system of incentives in the scientific sphere which operates through the conferment of titles, certain incentives, and benefits available to academicians. There are benefits for the military, certain veterans, heroes of socialist labor, and so forth.

In short, there is a highly ramified system of legitimate privileges and benefits. This question is so complex that it cannot be reduced simply to closing down certain types of canteens or stores. Or, to cite another example, the question of the USSR Ministry of Health Fourth Main Administration was raised in the Supreme Soviet. However, polyclinics of this kind do not serve party officials alone, they serve a wide range of people including ministry staff, creative workers, veterans, and so forth.

The latest trend is in favor of abolishing everything. However, I believe—and we have already embarked on this—that first of all it is necessary to take stock. It is necessary attentively to analyze everything that has accumulated in our country during the years of Soviet power, to analyze the system of benefits and privileges which has taken shape. And to endorse everything that is deemed legitimate and abolish everything that is deemed unlawful.

Voice: Mikhail Sergeyevich, this probably was not how the question was meant.

Gorbachev: How was it meant then?

Voice: If we are currently living through such hard times, then everyone should bear the same burden, like and like, we and the academicians. If it is a diet of black bread for us, let it be so for them too! This is how the question was meant.

Gorbachev: But there must be differentiation in labor remuneration! To avoid the situation prevailing in developing countries where the best scientists are leaving for America. We are talking about talent! Therefore it is necessary, comrades, to abide by the principle of socialism. The quantity and quality of labor must be rewarded. At the same time a guaranteed level of social security must be provided for all the working people. And over and above this level talent, abilities, labor contribution, and so forth have to be stimulated. I believe that everything should be stimulated through wages. The wages ought to become the main privilege so that people have access to benefits through wages.

Voice: This is exactly what we are saying! (applause)

Question: All industrial goods of which there is an acute shortage are distributed in Leningrad solely to war veterans, Afghan war veterans, on the basis of prior application. I am not against the advantages which they enjoy, but what are those of us who do not have a veteran among our relations or friends to do? I am unable to buy a washing machine, a television set, or a refrigerator unless I can find some dishonest veteran who will render me this service for a certain amount of money. Let part of the goods go to satisfy their requirements, and another part be sold freely.

Gorbachev: I am sure that this is the case. Part of them are sold.

Voices: No.

Gorbachev: This is a serious question. I also have a note here which reads: "What measures are being taken to do away with Soviet millionaires?" Do you believe they exist?

Voices: Yes.

Gorbachev: We must resolutely embark on the following road. First and most importantly: We must get rid of wage leveling and pay out only money that has been earned. And we must resolutely combat unearned income.

Questions may arise in connection with the cooperatives. There was a case in Moscow where a Communist came to pay his party dues from R3 million. I would say this was an anomaly. This has to be resolutely combated.

Incidentally, it was in connection with this that the cooperative taxation system was adopted. It will have to be adjusted so as to avoid an excessive polarization of incomes. However, there will be a certain amount of polarization, and this is how it should be. Otherwise the whole principle of labor remuneration—stimulation of the quantity and quality of labor—would be reduced to nought.

Question: What is your view of establishing cooperative shops for the production of consumer goods at such major associations as "Izhorskiy Zavod"?

Gorbachev: Work out this question in principle. Is it not likely that everyone would rush to join this cooperative? (laughter)

Question: Can you answer a question to which no one knows the answer. Neither at the rayon soviet executive committee, nor anywhere in the city. In connection with the Armed Forces reduction, is a serviceman entitled to come and join me with his family and register here. Will they be provided with housing, have they got the right to put their name down on the waiting list for housing?

Gorbachev: Generally speaking, this is what I believe: It is necessary to treat everyone who has served—I mean officers—with consideration. Our respectful attitude to the army which has existed through all the decades must remain unchanged. It is our army, it serves the people, it

guarantees their security. I assure you that it does guarantee it. And we must take care of the military as we have always done. And perhaps even more now when the arms reduction process is under way. It is necessary for our military to feel that the concern for the army in society remains alive, including concern for those who are forced to retire into the reserve. This is the main thing. You must not be indifferent here. It is a question of a serious upheaval in people's lives which calls for attention from society. Otherwise, what kind of Soviet power is this? I believe that optimum solutions have to be sought here. This is a general concern, it does not apply only in Leningrad. A city soviet session must resolve this question.

Question: What is your attitude to political strikes? For instance, in the case of the adoption of an undemocratic law on elections to local soviets?

Gorbachev: I do not think that there will be an undemocratic law on elections to local soviets.

Question: You say that the administrative-edict system has to be smashed. How then is the policy of supporting ministries to be understood?

Gorbachev: I hope that you do not suspect me, that you do not suppose that the general secretary is opposed to the success of perestroyka? No, I am very interested in its coming to pass more quickly and yielding results. But more quickly does not mean that it can happen overnight, in the matter of a week or a year or two. There are urgent questions which should be tackled immediately, others will be resolved over 5, 7, or 10 years. Switching from the administrative-edict system to economic methods is a very difficult question, and it cannot be solved in a single stroke.

Question: How was the question of taxing cooperatives tackled? Why, given the glasnost we enjoy, was there no nationwide discussion?

Gorbachev: The question of taxing cooperatives was very vigorously—I would even say fiercely—discussed. Clashes arose. Cooperative members and financial organs took part in the discussion on this issue. But the fact that it was not discussed nationwide is a defect. But it is a defect that is easily rectified. The Supreme Soviet now stands guard over the people's interests, and if some modifications are required, it will not ratify the taxation in its present form.

Question: What are the prospects for developing atomic energy today?

Gorbachev: The opinion has formed in the world, and I share it, that we cannot dispense with atomic energy. What proportion it should assume within our overall energy system is another question. And safety should of course be guaranteed. But we cannot survive without atomic energy.

Question: How do you regard the construction of amusement parks in Leningrad?

Gorbachev: I trust your decision. (applause)

Question: What is going to happen to our 20-million-strong party? How do you see its future activity, its future? You are engaged in affairs of state, hence the request made to charge a Politburo member with internal party affairs.

Gorbachev: If we allowed any weakening of the party or diminution of its progressive activity we would deal an irreparable blow to socialism. The party and its policy and organizational activity are an expression of the interests of all of our people and a very reliable instrument that unites and consolidates our society. The fact that the party today should operate in the light of the real situation prevailing at the stage where our society finds itself is another matter.

The party should take account of the democratization process and encourage it. The party should rid itself of artificial functions and questions relating to economic activity or the activity of the soviets. These must be looked after by the soviets and appropriate managerial bodies. We have neglected and overlooked a very great deal because the party has been occupied with extrinsic functions. The development of our society should have been subject to analysis long ago now. We should have made correct evaluations, drawn conclusions, and formulated appropriate policy long ago. We failed to do this because party committees mowed, plowed, reaped, harvested, brewed, smelted, and so forth.

You may ask: So, all right, the party is now cutting itself off from all this? No! It should first and foremost tackle political questions, open up prospects for society, note growing problems, and propose ways of solving them. Then we will not have so many problems build up as they did in the past, the problems which we are now encountering. Regarding political leadership, no one will replace the party. There are political organs in all societies. Moreover a socialist society, which is built by the working people, can and should realize its potential in conditions of reliable political leadership, but precisely that—political leadership. And the party should act as the political vanguard, developing economic, social, and cadre policy, providing ideological backup to this policy, and carrying out organizational work among the masses. No one will replace the party in this regard. And I see our party's future, after having restructured itself, in its finding new strength and boosting and strengthening its authority.

The criticism now leveled at the party has basically two thrusts, as it were. First, the party is criticized for what it allowed in the past. Since the party took upon itself the solution of all questions, its activity is correctly subject to criticism. And we ourselves have since the January 1987 Central Committee Plenum attracted this criticism

and have ourselves subjected to criticism and self-criticism all the deformations, omissions, and miscalculations. This does our party credit. It has shown courage and maturity—and that betokens a strong party. This has not been an error. By putting forward the policy of perestroyka the party has enhanced its own authority.

But now, when we are putting the policy of perestroyka into practice, the criticism goes in another direction: Many new questions have arisen to which the party has failed to provide a prompt answer, it has been tardy, it has lagged behind the workers and society. What conclusion is to be drawn? That we must continue resolutely renewing and restructuring the party on the principles of democratization and development of initiative. Particularly at the primary party organization level. This must be done in full during the upcoming report-and-election campaign.

It is necessary that the party discuss what the people are saying. You do not always have to go to a square to achieve this, to explain or discuss certain questions. But those questions which worry people must be discussed in one's own organization, one's own collective. Everything should be discussed bluntly. And collective conclusions drawn up as a result. We should ensure that primary and rayon party organizations are headed by the most authoritative Communists. Today these should be people who possess real authority.

As for charging a Politburo member with the conduct of party affairs. The Politburo forms collective decisions on all political questions. We do not seek to supplant the Council of Ministers or, of course, the Supreme Soviet but to discuss all topical political questions and elaborate approaches which Communists working in both the Supreme Soviet and the government take into account.

The Politburo should in its work pay more attention to party activity. Restructuring the work of the Politburo has still not been completely implemented in this regard. But questions of ideology and organizational and propaganda work are right now increasingly coming under Politburo scrutiny. We are hoping for active work by the party central committee commissions, which expand the bounds of the central committee's collective work. Commission members have the opportunity to examine many questions at another level of policy to promptly pick up everything that is happening in life and draw appropriate political conclusions in good time.

Regarding the cadres of enterprise leaders. Formerly the party was responsible for cadre policy. With the promulgation of the Law on the State Enterprise responsibility has also fallen upon the labor collective. By providing the relevant political directives the party should, of course, elaborate cadre policy in order to ensure perestroyka in the party and state apparatus and in the economic and cultural sphere, and it should take part in formulating proposals and discussing candidates within the democratic process. And as part of this democracy resolve the question of entrusting a particular post or the leadership of a particular section to someone. But only within the bounds of the democratic process.

Question: Will there be a law on pensions?

Gorbachev: There will be. It is being drafted.

We should switch to new pensions. The draft law is going be published. It is now as a matter of fact almost with the government and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. It will then be submitted for nationwide discussion and to the Supreme Soviet.

Question: Is it not time to pursue the path of the October Revolution in combating the saboteurs of perestroyka?

Gorbachev: I think, comrades, that the best path is the one we are pursuing by involving the people in all the social processes. And the saboteurs and yesterday's men are finding it increasingly difficult and will not be able to operate at all in the future. The process of democratization—at both enterprise and soviet level—is the best path. And we know what all those special bodies [spetsotryady] for instilling order—the three-man, four-man, and seven-man tribunals—led to. We need nevertheless to reach that point where the law reigns supreme rather than where a leader's law issued over the telephone determines the fate of people, collectives, cadres, and so forth. This process is taking place through democracy. It is doing so rapidly.

Voice: Here is another question, a final question...

Gorbachev: What do you mean, final? (laughter)

Question: Prices are are going up virtually daily, they have gone up even more because of cooperatives, and yet the government and you have spoken of the need to raise purchase and retail prices.

Gorbachev: No, comrades. As far as retail prices are concerned, the situation in the market will not allow an increase in them to be sanctioned in the next 2-3 years. That's the first thing. Second, we will tackle this question with you, particularly as the Supreme Soviet now maintains all these processes under its control. The reform of retail prices will not be carried out without nationwide discussion. We should also think about how to prevent this from adversely affecting people's standard of living. In other words, various compensatory options should be considered. But that is a question for the future.

Question: How do you regard the acuteness of the environmental problem?

Gorbachev: I will say frankly that the environment has us by the throat. This cannot be trifled with. A well-considered state program that provides for serious investment here is therefore essential. And no individual or production unit can avoid tackling environmental

tasks. Every newly constructed production unit should undergo appropriate environmental appraisal by experts. And those which are already functioning should be modernized so that their environmental situation is restored to the norm. We are also introducing services—they are already beginning to operate—which do not allow a single enterprise to boost its financial indicators at the expense of environmental questions. That is impermissible. And I believe that society will insist upon this.

We are drawing up a national program which will include the whole gamut of questions to ensure that everything changes for the better in the environment. This does not mean that it is not necessary to act right now—and that includes public action groups, which should, without waiting for any definitive decisions, pose these questions wherever the environmental situation is taking a dangerous turn.

Question: Deputy Ivanov recently spoke here and said that the Gdlyan group has virtually ceased to exist, the court has acquitted major bribe-takers, and so forth. Does this mean that the official authorities do not want to spoil relations with clandestine operators, in other words, with the mafia?

Gorbachev: When I first heard these accusations of bribery leveled against the leadership from the lips of Comrade Gdlyan at the meeting with Moscow deputies, I was staggered. I said: Comrade Gdlyan, you need to have incontrovertible and highly convincing facts at your disposal when you say such things. If you have gathered all the proof, you need have no worry. But if that is not the case, you will have to answer for your words. No one is allowed to make such accusations without any more ado. I can tell you that Comrade Ligachev is, so far as I am aware, a man who is highly exacting both toward himself and others. But I do not believe that he would enter into any kind of deal with his conscience. Otherwise it would be altogether difficult for me to live and work. But nevertheless, even if I do not believe them, the accusations must be checked out. Since the question is raised so seriously and the charges leveled are so serious it is essential that this be thoroughly investigated, whatever the cost. And the measures to be taken, whomever they regard, will depend on the conclusions that stem from this investigation. That is the only way, there is no alternative.

A commission in which we included deputies and lawyers from Moscow and beyond was set up right at the initial stage to remove all grounds for doubt and suspicion. They took part in the first stage, and now the Congress of People's Deputies has set up its own commission. Let it work and report to the Congress and all of us. Whatever the decisions, they must be taken, sparing no one. I believe that is the only way.

Question: What do you think about the housing conditions of young specialists, including those at our enterprise?

Gorbachev: These questions have to be resolved according to the law. comrades, These are questions for your administration. You have a trade union and a collective. it would be nonsensical for me to begin traveling around and issuing "tsarist" instructions.

I believe that the director, the party committee secretary, and the labor collective council chairman must specially discuss this question, and moreover with the involvement of the young specialists.

I have got here a note which thanks me for visiting your plant. That's the first point. But the second point the author makes is that he is convinced of the need for perestroyka. (applause)

I am very glad to have met with you. I sense that there is among you a mood to work. I wish you great success! (applause)

Voices: Thanks very much, Mikhail Sergeyevich.

Gorbachev: Goodbye.

TASS Views Speech

LD1908170389 Moscow TASS in English 1651 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—Dismantling the outdated economic management system based on power-and-pressure methods is the principal objective of the economic reform, Mikhail Gorbachev told workers at the Izhorskiy works on July 11, during his visit to Leningrad. A transcript of the conversation is published in the latest, 8th issue of the journal "NEWS FROM THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE" (Herald of the CPSU Central Committee.)

Addressing workers at one of the country's foremost heavy industrial centre, President Gorbachev noted that "the economy is the central, pivotal question now. The resolution of economic issues will enable us to act more confidently in other fields, and first of all, to cope efficiently with social issues."

Gorbachev pointed out that the groundwork must be laid in the next two years for attaining, within the following five-year period, a level that would allow to ensure normal supplies of foodstuffs to the nation.

Speaking about the development of agriculture, President Gorbachev noted that retooling and updating the processing industry was a high-priority concern. He told workers that a 7-year program for the development of the food industry had been worked out and that the defense industry branches would contribute to the implementation of the program. "We have come to feel," Gorbachev said, "that very soon the situation with foodstuffs will be changing for the better."

The Soviet president drew the attention of workers to the need for political reform. "Without it, we shall not be able to hold on to the perestroyka policy. Perestroyka will succeed if, through democracy, through political reform, we really involve people in all the affairs of society and the state. This is the only way to make perestroyka irreversible and to preclude anyone from cutting it short. And this will be ensured within the framework of democracy and glasnost".

The political reform, Gorbachev noted, must be taken to a higher level, to its new, second phase—a real transfer of power to the soviets, local bodies of power.

Touching upon inter-ethnic relations, Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out that the resolution of inter-ethnic problems lies not in "dismantling what has been created, not in devaluating our federation, but in allowing a fuller realization of its potential". "We must fill with real substance the sovereignty of the union republics and the autonomy of national formations. We must act in a way that would help people of all nationalities, no matter where they reside, feel confident and easy in their minds both at present and in future".

"This is a practical and humane way," Gorbachev stressed, "that is leading to harmonized interests of society and the nations populating our vast country. Those who seek to push people along another road are playing with fire. To divide, to split our community, to re-shape the federation itself is nothing but irresponsible activity".

The Soviet president supported proposals aimed at taking fuller account of the interests of work collectives and expanding their representation in bodies of power in a democratic way during the forthcoming elections to local soviets, or councils.

Mikhail Gorbachev replied to numerous questions concerning a wide range of problems relating to perestroyka and invigorating the activity of party organizations. "Should we permit a weakening of the party or a downgrading of its progressive activity," Mikhail Gorbachev said. "We would deal a shattering blow to socialism. The party, with its policy and organizational activity, is an exponent of the interests of the entire nation, a dependable tool for uniting and consolidating our society". He noted that "as concerns political leadership nobody can replace the party". "I see the destiny of our party in acquiring, through perestroyka, a new strength, in winning and consolidating authority," Mikhail Gorbachev said.

Emergency Leningrad Party Meeting Held 19 Jul

LD1908140889 Moscow TASS in English 1349 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Leningrad August 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Konstantinov:

An emergency meeting of the Leningrad regional party organisation opened at the Leningrad Tavricheskiy Palace today to work out a political program to promote restructuring. Along with 1,500 delegates from 600,000 Communist Party members, this unprecedented forum can also be attended by any resident of the five-million Leningrad and also the Leningrad region: the meeting is being televised live and direct telephone lines are open to receive people's questions and listen to their opinions.

The meeting had been prompted by urgent social and economic problems of the Soviet Union's second largest city and diverse public movements which are on the rise there.

During his visit to Leningrad a little more than a month ago, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev stressed the need to increase the party's role in the life of Leningrad. The first secretary of the Leningrad regional party committee was then reelected and Boris Gidaspov, 56, scientist and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, became the first Leningrad party leader who was not a party functionary. In his very first speeches Gidaspov called for immediate and constructive steps to lower social tensions through strengthening law and order, personnel changes, democratisation and public dialogue.

In his opening speech at today's party meeting, Gidaspov again called the Communist Party for practical deeds. "The time of hestitation has passed, people are tired of empty words. "The party will lose its influence if it does not prove by actions its organising role in restructuring, and if restructuring does not eventually improve the life of every individual," Gidaspov said. [quotation marks as received] According to him, the most urgent social and economic problems include food and consumer goods shortages, poor organisation of trade, negative trends in the cooperative movement, housing construction, crime, ecology and the threat of strikes. Gidaspov urged his party comrades to join their efforts with all progressive public forces and deepen democratisation in close contact with the Soviets of People's deputies and trade unions.

The meeting, which will continue on Sunday, has no deadline. Everybody will be given the floor.

Leningrad Party Chief Gives Interview

LD1908140489 Moscow World Service in English 0210 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Interview with Boris Gidaspov, Leningrad Oblast party first secretary, by unidentified correspondent; date, place of interview not given—Gidaspov remarks recorded in Russian with superimposed English translation]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] A party leader tendering resignation, a normal practice in many countries, was quite unheard of in the Soviet Union until recently. [passage

omitted] Following a crushing defeat in the spring general elections, Leningrad's party chief, Yuriy Solovev, stepped down recently, since he thought he could no longer lead a party organization second only to Moscow. Several candidates were nominated for the post but the job went to Boris Gidaspov, a Soviet technocrat who's in charge of the Institute for Applied Chemistry. [passage omitted] Now, is he happy over this sudden shift in his career? Boris Gidaspov:

[Gidaspov] I've had to give up my favorite occupation for something else on other occasions before; the choice I had to make this time was not easy either. I'm having to abandon a well-run business in the institute but I see it as my civil duty.

[Announcer] As Leningrad's new party chief Boris Gidaspov thinks his main job is to consolidate all progressives in the city (?for pushing on greater) democracy.

[Gidaspov] An alliance of all progressives and party radicals as the vanguard should secure a democratic breakthrough. The next problem to be sorted out is democratization within the party itself, which (?many point) out with good reason is lagging behind that of the society as a whole. And finally, the reversal of the regional investment policy as part of the economic reform. Capital investment must be cut down to resolve Leningrad's growing problems of housing, public utilities, and services.

[Announcer] Still, Boris Gidaspov is well aware that this is a time of deeds rather than political organizations.

[Gidaspov] The public is tired of being set strategic goals; there are outstanding problems which should have been resolved a long time ago, such as local trade. While a lot of (?goods are) being horded in the warehouse there are none in the shops. There has been further illicit redistribution of consumer goods through the shadow economy. Crime rates are up, including newer and more dangerous forms such as racketeering and gangsterism. I'm also worried that Leningrad is losing its (?faith) and cultural standards. Litter and garbage could be seen everywhere. The city should regain its standards of tidiness that would put to shame anyone dropping a cigarette butt on the pavement. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] With local elections round the corner and the communists having to face other rivals, Boris Gidaspov's assessment of the situation is realistic.

[Gidaspov] There has been more rhetoric than action for the time being; the voters will throw their weight behind people of action. Unless the party locals in the city do something tangible to raise living standards they stand to fail no matter how good their election campaign (?could) be. [passage omitted]

Yakovlev on Estonian Parliament's Decision

LD1808230689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1545 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Excerpts] The press yesterday published a draft document entitled: The Party's Nationalities Policy in Contemporary Conditions—the CPSU's Platform. The editorial office has asked Veniamin Fedorovich Yakovlev, USSR minister of justice, to comment on the document. Speaking to him is our correspondent (Yuriy Gordeyev).

[Begin recording] [passage omitted] [(Gordeyev)] Veniamin Fedorovich, we now know what the CPSU platform is. Seen from this angle, how do the recent decisions of the Estonian Parliament look?

[Yakovlev] You are obviously refering to the Law on Elections to the Local Soviets of People's Deputies. Well, you know, I, of course, studied that law in detail from beginning to end. On the whole, it is a perfectly democratic and modern document, if it were not for some of its provisions. These provisions are very few in number, only three I think, if I remember correctly: Article 2, parts 1 and 3, and Article 8. These articles unfortunately introduce elements, unfortunately contain elements, of discrimination, bear or include elements of inequality. If elections were to be held in accordance with the provisions that I have mentioned, a section of the poulation resident in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic would not take part in the local soviet elections, i.e. they would be excluded from the elections. Or else they could not be elected as a local soviet deputy. You see, some time ago this might not have been particularly important, given the pro forma elections we used to have, but now that the elections have become genuine and a kind of latent mighty, political potential really has awakened within the people, those who in the past had the right to vote under our laws and who now turn out to be stripped of that right are going to protest. This is inevitable and I think their protests are perfectly legitimate, because this really is an infringement of their legitimate constitutional rights—rights which, as they are well aware, they possess under the USSR Constitution as Soviet citizens. So I think that this injustice should, after all, be removed.

[(Gordeyev)] Thank you. [end recording]

Reportage on Estonian Strikes, Reaction

Strike Committee To Halt Strikes

LD1808200389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondent H. Levk]

[Text] [Announcer] The meeting between the republican leadership and representatives of the republican strike committee has continued in Tallin. The meeting was also attended by USSR people's deputies elected in Estonia.

Comrade Lysenko, chairman of the strike committee, reported that the strike committee has decided to halt the strikes and to enter into negotiations with the leadership.

[Lenk] The representatives of the republican strike committee announced this decision today during the latest meeting with Arnold Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, and members of the republic's government. A group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies took part in the meeting.

[Begin recording of G.S. Tarazevich, chairman of the Commission on Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet] Today the night shifts, in particular transportation workers, the railways, and from tomorrow all enterprises, have started work. Reason has triumphed: It has triumphed on the basis of the dialogue which actively started with the arrival of the group of deputies. Agreement was reached today on continuing the dialogue further, in a serious manner, and on considering the problems connected with the normal social life of all nations and ethnic groups in the republic and with drawing up new legislative acts. I hope that further development of the dialogue and the participation in this dialogue of all social forces and the leadership of the republic will yield positive results. I believe we must all be optimistic. Reason must triumph. [end recording]

Compromise, Dialogue Urged

PM2008135589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[Report by special correspondents A. Petrushov and V. Shirokov: "Dialogue Underway"]

[Text] Tallinn, 18 Aug—The strike committees spent two sleepless nights in the wake of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree. A decision was made after heated arguments and debates. Representatives of enterprise strike committees started voting at midnight. There were 36 votes in favor of suspending the strike and 12 in favor of continuing it. Nobody abstained.

Thirty-six against twelve... This proportion eloquently proves how difficult it was for strikers to arrive at what we consider to be the only correct decision. Let us make no secret about it, in the course of the discussion the balance at times swung in favor of continuing the confrontation. And due credit must be given to members of the republic council of strike committees, enterprise leaders, and members of the United Council of Labor Collectives aktiv who soberly weighed and analyzed the situation and persistently used sound arguments to persuade others of the need for a compromise which would pave the way for dialogue.

Dialogue indeed, a dialogue which essentially had already started at the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet on 17 August. Leaders of the republic and representatives of the republic strike committee, members of commissions from the country's Supreme Soviet, and USSR people's deputies from the republic took part in that meeting, which was the first response to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decision and lasted about 6 hours.

The meeting was opened by A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. He briefed those present on the sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, assessed the situation prevailing in the republic, and called for a constructive dialogue. G. Tarazevich, head of the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies' commission, and other USSR people's deputies gave their impressions from their meetings with labor collectives. Let us note that these impression were distinguished by tact and profound comprehension of the processes occurring in Estonia.

Strike committee members clearly and unambiguously stated their positions. Noting the good timing and principled nature of the decision made by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, they posed for the republic's leaders the question of guarantees that this resolution will be implemented. It is to the credit of the republic leadership that it adopted a self-critical approach in appraising the legislative practice currently prevailing in Estonia's parliament. Yes, there was haste in the elaboration of some legislative acts, and insufficient consideration had been given to the viewpoints and interests of the republic's nonindigenous population. An expert commission was constituted from among the republic's parliamentary deputies and USSR people's deputies, whose purpose is to elaborate a mechanism to take into account the minority's interests.

A guarantee can also be seen in the fact that the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium 10 August 1989 decree "On Measures To Ensure Legality and Law and Order in the Republic" is no longer in force, a decree which was correctly assessed by labor collectives as an antidemocratic action.

Reflecting on specific guarantees, I. Shepelevich, member of the United Council of Labor Collectives Presidium and director of the plant named for Kh. Pegelman, emphasized that today's conversation does not represent negotiations but the start of a dialogue on all problems perturbing and alarming the minority. Its ultimate result will be to overcome the crisis of confidence and to ensure equal participation by all residents of Estonia in economic and political life.

It has become obvious that direct confrontation and strong-arm pressure by either side cannot lead to cooperation and agreement.

...By the night of 17 August the republic council of strike committees had summoned representatives of the labor collectives. A deadline was set for the suspension of the

strike—until the October session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. Those assembled were unanimous that intensive work is needed now to make good the losses and catch up on lost time.

Further on Strikes

PM1808131389 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 89 p 1

[Special correspondent I. Virabov report: "Tallinn, 17 August"]

[Text] Yesterday the press published the draft CPSU platform "The Party's Nationalities Policy Under Present-Day Conditions." The exceptional acuteness of the nationalities question requires balanced and purposeful action from all Communists. This is reaffirmed yet again by the situation in Estonia.

Cars, cars, cars... The track is jam-packed. The trains stretch for dozens of kilometers. It is a depressing sight. The rail workers assure us that it will only be possible to clear all this chaos in 2-3 months, not less.

In the meantime... After the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session that recognized that certain provisions of recent laws adopted in Estonia fail to correspond to the union Constitution, another wave of rallies was held at enterprises in Tallinn and Kokhtla-Yarve.

"We currently have two options," Viktor Tsyunya, member of the republic strike committee, said, "we can either suspend the strike when the talks with the government begin or else continue it until we get the most reliable guarantees that our demands will be met. There is little hope of that at present."

The Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution "On Measures To Ensure Legality and Safeguard Law and Order in the Republic" has been rescinded.

"That is not the main thing!" Viktor Kiyemets, an active figure in the International Movement, assured me. "The main thing for us is to obtain principled decisions—on the language law, on the law on elections, and on many other issues. Compromise on this is impossible."

The question of compromise is central to current events. Is compromise possible? With every day of the strike tempers are rising and there is growing tension and discord. Between whom? Quite frankly, some people want to present the situation as the consequence of discord between Estonians and the Russian-speaking population. It seems to me that things are more complicated. Just as the republic's national flag is not just black and white but blue too. The confrontation has, rather, been whipped up by "hardliners," of whom, unfortunately, there are many in the International Movement too. There is also the other extreme—for instance, the Estonian Citizens' Committees that have appeared on the streets of Tallinn.

"If nothing changes," Sergey Petinov, deputy chairman of the united labor collective council, said, "as of next week we will start preparing to hold multicandidate elections to local soviets."

The statements by members of the International Movement and the strike committee are increasingly turning into ultimatums.

Complete consensus cannot be reached, I. Toome noted, only compromise is possible.

But compromise means two sides moving toward each other. No such movement is very noticeable as yet. "It's like in a family," a worker at the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium confided, "when somebody doesn't want to give in, the others do the same."

What is the way out? We are pinning our hope on reason and good sense.

Estonian Leaders, Strikers Meet

LD1808175689 Moscow TASS in English 1740 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Tallinn August 18 TASS—A meeting between the republic's leadership and representatives of the republican strike committee continued here on Friday [18 August], with the USSR people's deputies elected in Estonia attending.

M. Lysenko, chairman of the strike committee, said the committee had decided to suspend the strikes and enter into negotiations with the leadership.

In reply to the strikers' demands, the republic's leadership confirmed that no one would be victimised for taking part in the strike.

Problems connected with the drafting of legislative acts and matters concerning the publication and distribution of information were also discussed.

The meeting was also attended by a group of USSR people's deputies, led by Georiy Tarazevich, chairman of the Commission for the Nationalities' Policy and Interethnic Relations of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Tarazevich called for giving up unrealistic demands such as the compensation of losses from the republic's budget.

It was agreed that next meeting would be held next week.

The leadership also met with representatives of public movements and organisations of Estonia on Friday.

An expert group to examine suggestions for taking into account the minority's opinions and interests held its first meeting. The suggestions had come in from a group of deputies during the recent session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet.

It was emphasised that the group was to work out such proposals to refine the work of the republic's parliament which would secure that the process of the elaboration of draft laws and a law adopting mechanism take into consideration various points of view.

Strike Leader on Strikes' Background

PM1608112189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Aug 89 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with M. Lysenko, chairman of the Estonian republic strike committee, by correspondent V. Pyankova in Tallinn: "We Were Forced Into It—That Is the Opinion of the Strike Committee in Estonia"; date of interview not given]

[Text] Tallinn—As has already been reported, the strikes, in which several dozen collectives are participating, continue. What forced the workers and employees to resort to these extreme measures? Our correspondent V. Pyankova asked M. Lysenko, chairman of the Estonian enterprises' republic strike committee, to answer some questions:

[Lysenko] Our committee was set up back in February in connection with the fact that the Red Flag was lowered on Hermann Tower on 24 February and replaced by the tricolor. Since then there has been gradual but firm pressure on the rights of the republic's Russian-speaking population. The committee appealed to various republic government organs over the discriminatory language law. Working people repeatedly held rallies in defense of their rights. Finally, the first strike—prompted by the submission of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] draft law "On Elections of Estonian SSR People's Deputies to Local Soviets" for ratification by the republic's Supreme Soviet—was called on 24 July. The main thing we demanded was that a residency qualification should not be introduced.

From the very first day of this precautionary strike we asked the republic's leaders to negotiate with us. But a meeting was held only on the fourth day. We were promised that a commission to resolve the disputes would be set up. The strike was called off on 27 July. But during the radio and TV broadcasts of the 8 August Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session it became clear that our demands might have been published but were not discussed or had been ignored, and that the majority was inclined to approve the discriminatory new law. We went out on strike again. The strike was into its 7th day when V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, visited the republic strike committee. By 14 August, 48 enterprises in Tallinn and Kokhtla-Yarve were on strike. Labor collectives in other cities are now prepared to join in.

We firmly believe that we were forced into the strike by the republic's leadership—it was an extreme step after we had used every possible means to oppose the infringement of the rights of Estonia's Russian-speaking population.

Our people remain at their workplaces, and their machine tools are in working order.

We are now supported by the Estonian United Labor Collective Council, particularly after the adoption of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution "On Measures To Ensure Legality and Safeguard Law and Order in the Republic," which tries to force us to go back to work by threatening the use of strong-arm methods. But we will now only call off the strike if the government commission intervenes at union level and if effective measures are taken to annul acts of legislation that discriminate against Estonia's many thousands of Russian-speakers...

Effects of Strikes Noted

PM1608113689 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Aug 89 p 1

[S. Sergeyev report: "Tallinn, 15 August"]

[Text] Tallinn—The strike gripping a number of Estonian enterprises continues. On 15 August, 51 enterprises were taking part in the stoppage. The reason for it is the Law on Elections in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], adopted by the republican parliament by a majority of votes on 8 August. This document sets a residence qualification, which deprives a certain section of the inhabitants of Estonia of the right to elect or be elected.

Strikes are an important weapon for the proletariat, an extreme measure. At present it is mainly the Russian-language enterprises of Tallinn and Kokhtla-Yarve—a city of miners and chemical workers—that are taking part in the strike. For many days now, more than 100 buses from the Lasnamyae branch of the Tallinn Bus Association have failed to operate. Motor transport freight shipments are at a partial standstill—drivers from three of the eight branches of the "Tallinnavtotrans" Association are on strike. For 6 days there has been no loading and unloading work at the goods station, and the movement of freight trains is paralyzed.

At the end of last week the strike seemed to be on the decline. But the resolution on antistrike measures adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium poured fuel on the fire.

"We are prepared at any moment to turn out, as soon as the republican strike committee decides to stop the political stoppage," I was told by Sergey Logachev, chairman of the strike committee at the Lasnamyae branch of the bus association. "Our buses are technically in good order, and there is round-the-clock supervision of the territory and the motor pool. Anyone who did not agree to join us is going out onto the bus routes peacefully. The expression of protest is a personal matter for the individual."

Many enterprises where there are multinational collectives have stopped work. One is the Kh. Pegelman Electrical Equipment Plant. At the entrance are posters demanding equal electoral rights for everyone.

"A referendum we held showed that the majority of the collective is in favor of the strike," General Director Igor Shepelevich said, "but the production units are so interconnected that a stoppage of work in any one sector immediately disrupts the entire manufacturing cycle."

At the republican headquarters of the strike committees, I met with Igor Konovalov, an engineer from the Baltic Ship Repair Plant. He is a member of the strike committee assistance group, which includes representatives of many enterprises.

"When will the strike end? When a government commission consisting of people's deputies and ministers arrives from Moscow."

"But, Igor Borisovich, do you not think the situation has reached an impasse? After all, the law that was adopted enjoys the support of the republic Supreme Soviet and the majority of the population of Estonia."

"There is no such thing as an impasse in politics."

"In our collective, they did not support the strike," Aleksey Nyomaa, general director of the "Salvo" Association, said. "Other ways of resolving the problem must now be found. For the moment we are still working wihout interruption, but by the end of the week we will be overloaded with output because we cannot dispatch it to consumers outside the republic. And then the shortage of raw materials will hit us, too. Who needs this? Of course, some time was wasted in tackling the problems in Estonia. A part was also played by the insufficient information given to the Russian-speaking population, and by the fact that the republic leadership did not visit the labor collectives enough. I personally have nothing against the residence qualification."

The strike has already struck a severe blow to the republic's economy, especially since Estonia is preparing to change to regional economic accountability as of next January. Therefore, every new day of the strike is too costly. A compromise must be sought.

A USSR Supreme Soviet commission arrived in Tallinn yesterday.

Use of 'Extremist' Label Cautioned Against

PM2008171589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Correspondent L. Levitskiy dispatch: "Condemnation Rather Than Consideration"]

[Text] Tallinn—The life of industrial Tallinn is returning to normal, but passions around the recent strike remain unabated. Passions indeed, since emotions still prevail over reason and reality. And the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA expressed well-timed concern in its article entitled "Atavisms of Authoritarianism, or Why Pour Old Wine Into New Casks?" (No 191, 18 August).

"...The mass media continue to speak of them (the strikers) as nothing but a handful of extremists fanning dissension between people of different nationality.

"...We recommend a fresh reading of the transcript of a conversation between two first secretaries—Yaak Allik of the Vilyandisky Estonian Communist Party Rayon Committee and Vladimir Malkovskiy of the Narva City party committee (the item 'In Quest of Compromise' was published the day before). Allik says: 'The Estonian newspapers' coverage of the strike was not distinguished by its seriousness. Readers were given the impression that a tiny handful of people, terrorized by instigators, failed to report for work... All this was firmly commented upon, including hasty advice to jail these extremists...'"

This view of events, the newspaper points out, is typical of more than just the residents of a single rayon. The newspaper cites a letter it received from the "Norma" Production Association. The general director, party committee secretary, labor collective council chairman, and trade union committee chairman who have signed it declare on the collective's behalf: "Adventurist actions going by the name of strikes, aimed by a handful of political hooligans at destabilizing the renewal and democratization of society in Estonia... demand to be resolutely cut short. ...We demand that the instigators and inspirers of these political and economic provocations be identified and that economic and legal sanctions be immediately applied against them."

What sort of democracy, renewal, and perestroyka are these if they need the same old sanctions, the newspaper comments. And could someone please tell us how this zeal for renewal and democracy differs from the stance taken by some of our readers who equally categorically demand the selfsame sanctions against some People's Front leader of another...

By way of a postscript to this article, the newspaper added: While the item was being prepared for print, the following telegram arrived:

"Tallinn, SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA. Copies: Moscow, Central Television; Moscow, The Kremlin, Supreme Soviet Presidium.

"We categorically protest the fanning of the latest anti-Estonian campaign in support of the Brezhnev Constitution by the 'Vremya' program. We are profoundly indignant at the one-sided and biased interpretation of the provisions of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Law on Elections. The residence qualification is a competence qualification regardless of nationality. We deem such methods of work, which follow the best traditions of the times of stagnation, to be shameful and immoral. [signed] Enn Vetemaa, party organizer of the Estonian Writers' Union; Teet Kallas, party bureau member and member of the Estonian Writers' Union Board."

The newspaper reproduced the telegram without any comment. The comment is provided by the entire article, printed above the telegram, on the unsuitability and harmfulness of abuses of labels and of calls to suppress all dissidents by force. As soon as such a campaign is launched, nobody can tell who would end up being an extremist. And one more point. Talking to the working class in the language of threats and ultimatums—bearing in mind that over 50 labor collectives from the largest enterprises took part in the strike—can be done only by people who are really nostalgic for police democracy, by anti-perestroyka people, even though they might be waving the flags of "renewal and glasnost."

Estonia's Toome Urges Better Prepared Laws

PM1808153689 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Correspondent L. Levitskiy report, including remarks by I. Toome, chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers: "Estonia: From Strikes to Dialogue"; date, place of Toome's remarks not given]

[Excerpts] Tallinn—The Tallinn Goods Station and Kopli and Yulemiste stations resumed work Thursday night. As of Friday morning, all the industrial, transport, and construction organizations of Tallinn and Kokhtla-Yarve did likewise. [passage omitted]

"At some point, common sense and an understanding of the need for compromise were replaced by mutual pressure and ultimatums," the Estonian head of government said. "If you have a crisis of confidence, that means there are reasons for it. I am sure the government will be able to demonstrate that it has an absolutely identical attitude toward all inhabitants of Estonia. Another lesson: All laws, especially amendments to the Constitution, must be prepared and discussed much more thoroughly so as not to violate the interests of any population group."

Tension Continues in Abkhaziya ASSR

LD2008174489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] The temporary press center of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs reports:

The special regime governing the conduct of citizens has been in force in the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] for more than a month now. In that time the party, local Soviet, and law enforcement bodies have taken a range of measures to improve the situation. At the same time, armored personnel carriers are still stationed in the streets and squares of population centers in the autonomous republic, while military helicopters patrol the skies. Vehicular transport is carefully inspected at checkpoints. Some tenseness may be detected.

There are still many firearms in the possession of the population, although more than 2,000 pieces have been confiscated since the events began. It is hard for the inhabitants and the visitors in resort towns to get used to the restrictions imposed. For this reason, more than 2,000 people have been detained for violation of travel regulations in the past month. In this connection, the republic's Internal Affairs Ministry and the leaders of the tactical command group of internal troops have altered the system of passes, and new passes have been introduced.

A decision has been made on administrative responsibility for violation of the special regime. In other words, everything is being done to reliably ensure public order and the safety of citizens.

The servicemen of the internal troops are currently under great pressure. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 20 Aug adds the following passage at this point: They have to carry out their assignments in temperatures of 30 degrees, wearing bullet-proof vests and helmets. Combat training is under way and political training classes are being held on schedule in the places where the subunits are based.] Many of them perform their duty to maintain public order while at the same time adhering rigidly to the law and demonstrating composure, courage, and a high degree of professionalism. All this earns the respect of the people. More and more often the people living here come to realize that the need for the internal trops to remain in Abkhaziya will disappear in time. But much remains to be done to this end.

Internal Affairs Ministry on Abkhaziya Situation

LD1908140389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] A report from the temporary USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] press center in Abkhaziya:

During the past 24 hours, enterprises, institutions and organizations in the autonomous republic have been working at their usual pace. Road traffic has been maintained. Public railway, waterway, and air transportation have been operating normally.

During the night of 18-19 August, 82 people were detained for violating travel regulations in the conditions of the special regime for citizens' conduct which is now in force in Abkhaziya. During the past 24 hours, 9 firearms and 300 kgs of explosive material have been confiscated from the population. Since the beginning of the events in Abkhaziya about 2,100 firearms and more than 1,500 kgs of explosive material have been confiscated. However, a large quantity of weapons, ammunition, and explosive material is still at large among the population. Work to confiscate them is continuing. The republic's MVD leadership and the command of the USSR MVD internal troops group in Abkhaziya appeals as follows to all citizens illegally keeping firearms, ammunition or explosive materials:

Give them up voluntarily to militia organs or internal troop details. Save yourselves and your families, your children, from fear of tomorrow. Save yourselves from possible criminal liability for the illegal possession of firearms. A person handing them in voluntarily will not face criminal liability.

Arrests Continue in Abkhaziya

LD1808173789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] The temporary Ministry of Internal Affairs press center in Abkhaziya reports that the special conduct regime for citizens is continuing in force in the autonomous republic's territory. During the night of 17-18 August, 57 people were detained by joint details of the militia and the internal forces for violations. During the past 24 hours, 16 firearms have been confiscated from the population by internal affairs bodies or have been voluntarily handed in. The internal affairs investigative bodies have finsihed their investigations into five criminal cases of people who kept firearms and ammunition illegally and sent them to trial.

We recall that, in accordance with Article 238 of the criminal code of the Georgian Soviet Socalist Republic, citizens who voluntarily hand in firearms which they have kept illegally are free of criminal liability. Dozens of people have handed in arms this month.

During the past 24 hours the majority of enterprises, establishments, and organizations have been functioning throughout the autonomous republic.

'Gradual Normalization' Noted 4 Aug

PM1008122189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[GRUZINFORM-TASS report: "People's Diplomacy in Operation"]

[Text] Tbilisi, 4 Aug—Further confirmation of the gradual normalization of the situation in Abkhaziya was provided by the fact that USSR Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD] troop subunits went on patrol in Sukhumi today without firearms.

Party and soviet organs in the autonomous republic are working actively, trying to reconcile the conflicting sides. Special hopes here are pinned on the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] Supreme Soviet commission to investigate the circumstances and causes of the conflict between the Abkhazian and Georgian sections of the population. The commission includes representatives of broad sections of the public.

People's diplomacy has achieved appreciable successes: Dialogues in labor collectives, in the streets, and in residences are helping to restore trust and understanding between Abkhazians and Georgians.

The time has finally come when Abkhaz party organs are making a political assessment—on the basis of irrefutable facts—of negative phenomena in the work of the Abkhaz ASSR MVD during the days of the tragic events in Sukhumi. It was emphasized at an Abkhaz Party Oblast Committee Bureau session that the effectiveness of the work done by the leadership and personnel of internal affairs organs to prevent and suppress interethnically motivated offenses was weakened to a considerable degree by a lack of principledness, by poor operational efficiency, and by inefficient coordination of the activities of MVD departments, services, and subunits.

The necessary measures were not taken to identify and institute proceedings against persons guilty of destabilizing the situation in the autonomous republic and also of committing various crimes on these grounds. At the time of the mass disturbances and the fueling of the situation the leadership and the services of the MVD and the city rayon internal affairs departments failed to ensure purposeful and active prevention of conflicts, displayed irresponsibility and unprofessionalism, and failed to reliably guard premises where weapons were kept.

On the whole, the operational situation in Georgia remains stable. Persons suspected of participating in mass disturbances in the city of Bolnisi have been arrested. The situation in the republic is controlled by party, soviet, and law-enforcement organs.

Ethnic Unrest, Developments in Republics Cited

LD1808212289 Moscow TASS in English 1504 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Commentary by TASS commentator Aleksey Lvov]

[Text] Moscow August 18 TASS—By TASS commentator Aleksey Lvov:

The nationalities problem has lately become particularly acute in the USSR. Solution of the existing problems is of major importance for the destinies of perestroika and for the country's future in general. This point is accentuated in the document "Nationalities Policy of the Party in Contemporary Conditions (Platform of the CPSU)", published in the USSR a short while ago. The correctness of this thesis is confirmed, among other things, by developments in Transcaucasia, where the sharpness of inter-ethnical contradictions has not been overcome despite the efforts exerted towards this end by local government bodies and party organs.

Meetings were held last week in several towns of Azerbaijan. They demanded an end to the special form of administration in Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region, lifting of the curfew, etc. Strikes were called at several enterprises of the republic, involving about five thousand people.

The strike in Nagorno-Karabakh is in its fourth month. It complicates, of course, the political discussion of this problem in the Supreme Soviet of the country. The situation in the region is aggravated by a severe drought in Highland Karabakh.

Longstanding grudges, unresolved socioeconomic problems cannot, however, eclipse the problems of tremendous importance confronting the people of Armenia, all the nations of the USSR, among them the liquidation of the consequences of the destructive earthquake that hit this union repubic last December. The past few days, as the entire period after the natural calamity, were marked by the intense labour of thousands upon thousands of Soviet people, of men from other countries too, who are raising from ruins vast areas of Armenia. It is reported from Yerevan, for instance, that specialists from the Soviet Baltic Republic of Lithuania have begun construction work in the Armenian town of Artik. They are putting up there a whole housing estate, named "Lmbat," which will comprise 45 monolith four-storey apartment houses, schools, a kindergarten and various cultural and servicing establishments. The Armenian diaspora is rendering active aid to the mother-country. Thus, the "SOS—Armenia" charity organisation, set up in France, is shipping to the republic 80 prefabricated dwelling houses, which will be assembled in Shirak, a community not far from Leninakan. And there are dozens of such reports.

Implementation of a radical economic reform is one of the most important tasks in our country's domestic life. Intensive efforts are being exerted towards this end in the Transcaucasian region. Ayaz Mutalibov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Azerbaijan, told TASS that draft laws on taxation and the state budget were already drawn up in the republic. At the same time many questions still require thorough elaboration, including the problem of redistributing profits received from the sale of end products. This is particularly important for Azerbaijan, prevalent in whose economy is the extraction and primary processing of such valuable raw materials as petroleum, cotton, industrial varieties of grapes.

In developing the economic potential it would be wrong, of course, to overlook the main thing—the interests of people. Proceeding from this premise, a decision was passed these days in Armenia to close down most of the shops of the Alaverdi mining and metallurgical complex, which had for many long years polluted the environment and harmed the health of local dwellers. The remaining two shops will provide the basis for a new plant with a closed production cycle and efficient purification facilities.

Development of the national cultures of local peoples is an important element in the life of the multinational Transcaucasian republics. Thus, a state programme for the development of the Georgian language has been officially adopted in Georgia recently. Drawn up jointly by scientists of the Linguistics Institute of the National Academy of Sciences, Tbilisi University, Ministry of Public Education, Union of Writers of Georgia and the Rustaveliy Society, this programme provides for the promotion of linguistic research, improvement of language tuition at secondary schools and higher educational establishments. An Udi-Azerbaijan-Russian dictionary has been put out in neighbouring Azerbaijan. This is an important contribution to the preservation of the language of Udis, an ethnic group, which was mentioned yet by Herodotus, Strabo and other ancient scholars.

'Extremist' Killed Planting Bomb on Railroad

LD1908102389 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0100 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Nakhichevan—An attempt to blow up the main railway line near Karchevan station, located in the territory of Megri rayon of Armenia, at the 344th km of the Nakhichevan section of the Azerbaijan railway, resulted in tragedy. The criminal (Ashot Pastaganian) was killed as a result of an explosion when he placed explosives beneath the track. He was 30 years old and originally from Leninakan. After the earthquake he was given a house in Megri rayon. As is known, Azerbaijanis had left this rayon, but (Pastaganian) did not want to live and work in the new place, and joined the extremists.

Tofig Agayarov, procurator of the Nakhichevan transport procuracy told an Azerinform correspondent: The results of the destruction is worrying, but it is in accordance with law. [as heard] Criminal proceedings have

begun, and investigations are under way. It must be clarified where (Pastaganian) obtained the explosives, and how he entered the railway area, which is protected by units of internal troops of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry.

Further on Incident

NC1808210889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] The attempt to blow up a section of the Azerbaijan railroad track at the 344th km point, which is under the jurisdiction of the Nakhichevan branch of the Azerbaijan railways network and close to Karchevan railway station in Armenia's Megri Rayon has ended tragically. The criminal, Artur Parsakanyan, was killed when the explosives he placed under the track exploded. [Words indistinct] and he was 30 years old. Parsakanyan was from [word indistinct]. However, he was given a house in Megri Rayon after the earthquake.

It is common knowledge that the Azerbaijanis have moved out of Megri Rayon. Parsakanyan [words indistinct], refused to work, and joined the extremists. T. Agayanov, who is the [words indistinct] of transportation in Nakhichevan, said the following to an Azerinform correspondent: A crime has been committed. In view of this, an investigation has been initiated. The question as to where Parsakanyan acquired the explosives from must be brought to light. [passage indistinct]

Azerbaijani Intellectuals Issue Appeal on NKAO

LD1908115889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0104 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] In connection with the tense situation that has come about in Nagorno-Karabakh, the appeal of the solidarity meeting of Azerbaijani intellectuals was published in the republican press yesterday.

Intellectuals expressed their anxiety about the situation that has come about in this inseparable corner of Azerbaijan. The appeal says: In the extraordinary situation that has come about, the only thing for the people of Azerbaijan to do is mobilize all their spiritual, political, and physical forces and to resolutely stop the black hands sowing the seeds of intrigue and [words indistinct]. We must always keep alive the spiritual [word indistinct], dignity, love of land, and high [word indistinct] for safeguarding the honor of our homeland which we have inherited from our ancestors. [passage indistinct] People's fortunes demand this.

A decision of the participants of the meeting consisting of four items was reflected in the appeal. Calling on our compatriots, the document says: Only inviolable unity and the strong will of the people will enable them stand this difficult test. We appeal to you to support Karabakh and to give it all kinds of spiritual and material assistance. This is the most necessary and urgent duty [word indistinct]. Let this action be a new manifestation of the spiritual unity and firmness of the will of our people.

Further on Appeal

NC1808130689 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] The republic's newspapers today published the appeal made by the solidarity meeting of Azerbaijan's intellectuals in connection with the tense situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The intellectuals noted that the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, which is an inseparable part of Azerbaijan, has made them feel very uneasy.

The appeal said: The only thing to be done by the Azerbaijan people in connection with the extraordinary situation is to mobilize all the moral, political, and (?physical) forces to resolutely obstruct and end instigations by individuals who harbor ill-will. We must always maintain the august qualities we have inherited from our ancestors—qualities such as moral integrity, efficiency [words indistinct], and [word indistinct] for the homeland. In view of the important test with which we are faced, we must surmount each and every kind of prejudice, [word indistinct], (?rivalry), and [word indistinct] and become an unwavering force. This is required for the people's future.

The appeal included a (?4-point) decision that was adopted by the participants at the meeting. The decision appealed to our fellow countrymen as follows: Only the people's indestructible unity and strong will can help the country out of this difficult problem. We urge all of you to help Nagorno-Karabakh and to give that region every kind of moral and material support. This is the most indispensable and urgent task of the day. Let this move be a new manifestation of our people's moral unity and unwavering will.

[Baku Domestic Service in Armenian at 1000 GMT on 18 August adds the following: "As we had already reported, a meeting of Baku intellectuals took place at the Sharifzade theater house on 15 August. The meeting passed a resolution to set up a national movement for assistance to the NKAO. In accordance with the decision, special account No 758 will be opened at the Azerbaijan bank administration of the USSR Housing Industry and Social Development Bank. The registry numer of the branches is 501015."]

Azerbaijanis Protest Against 'Racist' Bulgaria

AU1708220689 Paris AFP in English 2059 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text) Moscow, Aug 17 (AFP)—Demonstrators in Soviet Azerbaijan, protesting against the Bulgarian treatment of the Turkish minority, forced the cancellation of a Bulgarian music concert, Azerbaijani sources said.

The demonstrators, who numbered some 10,000 people according to the sources, called for a boycott of the concert in protest at Bulgaria's "racist policies towards the Turkish minority."

The Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry said 200 demonstrators were present at the concert in the Lenin Palace in Baku.

Bulgaria has been accused of carrying out a forced assimilation programme towards the 900,000 Turks in the country.

Armenian Refugees Demonstrate in Yerevan

NC1808182389 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Report by Manuel Dalilyan and Grayr Chamchyan from Lenin Square in Yerevan entitled: "Violence Must Be Stopped"]

[Excerpts] Refugees have filled Lenin Square. The central and Azerbaijanian press write that these people have simply left or abandoned their homes. But who would abandon just like that the paternal homes [words indistinct] and disperse all over the world, to the different parts of the country, to foreign countries, and to Armenian, and wander endlessly. They came, but the issue is how they came. No! They refuse to publicize that point on the ostensibly on the grounds that it would lead to enmity. Conflagrations, pillaging, and [word indistinct] continue in Baku in these days, not to mention last year or the beginning of this year, before the very eyes of the protectors of the law. [passage indistinct]. To protest this [words indistinct] against human beings, they have come to Lenin Square to protest before Lenin's statue.

[Begin recording] [Armen Oganesyan, one of the demonstrators] The situation facing Armenians in Baku is extremely grave. We want the Azerbaijani, union, and Armenian governments to stabilize the situation and guarantee the security of the Baku Armenians. The security bodies [words indistinct] on the one hand and are extremely slow on the other hand and as a result in Baku they are killing, beating, burning, [words indistinct] Moscow and central government is doing nothing. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] "The highest state bodies and mass media report that an Armenian in Baku hit his attacker with an iron bar in self-defense, but they do not report what these people tell; they have nothing to report because there are people who get (?agitated) if an iron is used, whereas there is no (?vexation and audience) for the [word indistinct] massacres. These people want to be heard. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Chebrikov Discusses Nationalities Draft

PM1808165789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 89 First Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with V.M. Chebrikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by V. Poshatayev and A. Chernyak: "Renewing Nationalities Policy. V.M. Chebrikov, Member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Answers PRAVDA's Questions"; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The draft CPSU platform on the party's nationalities policy in present conditions was published in the press 17 August. This document will be submitted for discussion by the participants in the upcoming CPSU Central Committee Plenum on interethnic relations. We asked V.M. Chebrikov to comment on a number of the draft's provisions.

[Correspondents] Viktor Mikhaylovich, you're a member of the Politburo commission to prepare the plenum on interethnic relations. Please tell us how the platform was prepared.

[Chebrikov] I want to say straight away that the political platform is not the fruit of deskbound fantasy, an "apparatus" document, so to speak. It is the result of tremendous collective work.

As far back as last year the party Central Committee adopted a resolution on preparing a plenum on improving interethnic relations (incidentally, it was published in PRAVDA) which instructed union republic communist party central committees and party kraykoms [kray committees], obkoms [oblast committees], and okruzhkoms [okrug committees] to study this question and submit corresponding proposals to the Central Committee. Soviet organs, ministries and departments, scientific institutions and individual scientists, and creative unions sent in their views. We received thousands of letters from working people on this issue.

All-union and regional scientific and theoretical conferences in Minsk, Tashkent, and Ternopol and a number of symposiums and "roundtables" organized by USSR Academy of Sciences institutes, the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and Marxism-Leninism Institute, and the editorial boards of central newspapers, journals, and television were devoted to this topic. In my view, PRAVDA's initiative in holding a number of "roundtables" on the topic "The USSR Is Our Common Home" at which workers, collective farm members, party workers, and representatives of the creative intelligentsia shared their thoughts about the destiny of the multinational country and its peoples was very fruitful.

A great role was played by the extremely frank discussion at the Congress of People's Deputies and at the first USSR Supreme Soviet session. The debates reflected all the complexities and contradictions in the course of the economic and political reforms and the development of interethnic relations. Analysis of the processes showed that radical changes are needed in this sphere of social relations and in nationalities policy as a whole.

All this huge amount of material was taken into account in preparing the platform. Versions of the document were studied and analyzed with scientists specializing in problems of interethnic relations, economists, and jurists. They were discussed with the participation of representatives of all union and autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts and okrugs. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo repeatedly discussed the draft platform. So it can be said without exaggeration that thousands and thousands of people took part in preparing the document.

[Correspondents] Viktor Mikhaylovich, please say a few words about the reasons requiring what you described as radical changes in our nationalities policy: Is it all down to errors of the past and the deformations to which this policy was subjected during the years of the personality cult and stagnation?

[Chebrikov] Indeed, deformations in nationalities policy were a factor in many respects. They emerged particularly sharply in the restriction of the sovereignty of republics and the rights of autonomous formations and in the deportation of entire peoples from their homes. These errors and illegalities must be corrected. But that is not the whole story. After all, interethnic relations are inextricably connected with the economy, with policy, with ecology, and with demography—in fact, with all spheres of people's activity. Therefore in renewing our society and carrying out political and economic reforms, we cannot fail to renew our nationalities policy also. That is, it is a question of a new nationalities policy in present conditions. However, its nucleus and conceptual approaches remain Leninist—equality of the peoples and equality of people regardless of nationality, and the principles of internationalism.

[Correspondents] The renewal of nationalities policy is also inconceivable without the renewal of ideological and political, and educational work in the sphere of national relations. In your view, what in the arsenal of past years should be abandon and what adopt in order to resolve today's tasks?

[Chebrikov] First of all, we must be realists in assessing the changes taking place in interethnic relations. After all, what is the source of many of our errors in educational work in this sphere? The fact that often in both theory and practical activity the emphasis has been that the nationalities question in our country has been fully solved once and for all and the main concern is faster rapprochement between nations. This was bound to have a negative influence on international education, which increasingly began to be dominated by formalism and crash campaigns, which nullified the moral potential of internationalism. Hence the underestimation of the importance of the national factor in international education. Moreover, national nihilism began to be identified with internationalism. However, today many people have realized that internationalism cannot grow and develop without a national foundation. Therefore, when we speak of new approaches in international education, we must also take into consideration the whole totality of the national factor. While remaining class-based, international education in modern conditions must also take into account the increase in the role of common human interests and values.

[Correspondents] The course of preparations for the plenum and the elaboration of the draft platform revealed certain problems that prompted sharp or, you might say, heated arguments in the press, in scientific circles, and at the Congress of People's Deputies. Which of them would you regard as most important?

[Chebrikov] Above all, of course, the question of the development of the Soviet federation. The need for radical transformations in it is dictated by life itself. Over the decades there was a gradual deviation from the federative foundations of our multinational state. By virtue of objective factors, and they, of course, must always be remembered (I am referring to the specific historical conditions in which the building of socialism proceeded, including the external danger and the need to implement industrialization at a rapid pace), and also subjective factors connected with the personality cult and voluntarism, our state became increasingly unitary.

There was a predominance of central department diktat, aggravated by a lack of a considered regional economic and social policy. Often consideration was not given to the specifics and features of national development, which indubitably had a negative impact on the quality and stability of our common home. It is therefore perfectly clear that we cannot get by today without getting rid of these excesses and making substantial changes to the USSR Constitution and the constitutions of the union and autonomous republics which would further develop the fundamental principles of our federal setup.

[Correspondents] Where it talks about determining the powers of the union, republics, and autonomous formations the draft platform spells out provisions which as yet do not figure in the USSR Constitution. Is it possible to briefly describe them and say how they might be reflected, in your view, in future laws relating to the sphere of interethnic relations?

[Chebrikov] First it must be noted that all these new provisions are caused by the urgent necessity to bring national-state building into line with the reforms of the economic and political systems being implemented in

the country. The process of the deepening of the democratization of social life cannot bypass the sphere of interethnic relations. Moreover, V.I. Lenin regarded their full democratization as the most important condition for resolving the nationalities question under socialism.

This is why the draft CPSU platform stresses the need for radical transformations in the Soviet federation. And the main question here, you have correctly noted, is the precise separation of the powers and mutual obligations of the union, republics, and autonomous formations. And this, of course, requires the the renewal of the constitutions themselves—from the Fundamental Law of the USSR to the constitutions of the union and autonomous republics. This work presupposes a qualitatively new standard of lawmaking activity on this question. For it is no secret that that even now mutual relations in this sphere are often regulated by declamation [deklarativno], without the application of the requisite legal machinery. There is a pressing need to restore a list of the powers of the union that are voluntarily transferred to its charge by all the members of the federation—the union republics. While the republics would be empowered to resolve all other questions of state and social life.

It is also important for the constitutions to reflect the substantial expansion of the autonomous republics' rights and independence and the legal status of all autonomous formations, including national rayons and national rural and settlement soviets.

The pressing need for laws on citizenship, language, and increased liability for fueling national dissension has started to become increasingly tangible. Particular thought should be given to guarantees of the free national development of citizens who are living outside their national-state formations or do not have such formations on the territory of the USSR. In a word, ahead lies a tremendous amount of lawmaking work to fully ensure the rights and freedoms of Soviet people of all nationalities and stability in the development of interethnic relations.

[Correspondents] However, other views are also expressed on this point...

[Chebrikov] True, some people are revising our principled approaches to the federation in general. I am not referring in this instance to extreme positions, such as, for instance, secession from the USSR. But what form should our union take? Is it a single multinational federal state, formed as a result of a voluntary association of sovereign socialist republics, or is it a union of states, that is, a confederation?

This is not a new question. If you recall the history of the creation of our state, back at the dawn of the formation of the USSR, there were keen debates over that same question, "what form should our union take?" As you know, Lenin's viewpoint prevailed, which took account of all aspects of the then situation and eventually led to the creation of our state on the basis of the principles of federation. Lenin succeeded in putting a stop to confederalist aspirations, which would have led to the weakening of our unity and hampered the resolution of the tasks of socialist building.

The whole of world experience indicates that only through integration, only through the pooling of efforts, and not through confederative aspirations, is it possible to achieve progress in the development of any society—not only a socialist society.

In this connection I would like to refer to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech on central television, where he said frankly and unequivocally that we must not, in the quest for something better, embark on the path of destroying what has been created or abandon what the federation has already given us and what could be augmented within that framework. And any calls for economic autarky and spiritual isolation must be recognized as profoundly alien to the vital interests of any people and of society as a whole. That would set us back a long way and inflict enormous material and moral losses on every nation and every individual. Extreme positions on this question often lead to tragic consequences. And we have already seen that for ourselves...

[Correspondents] Our legislation stipulates criminal responsibility for kindling interethnic strife. However, one has the impression that Justice only comes into play when conflicts on interethnic grounds develop into mass disturbances, when blood is shed. What do you think about that?

[Chebrikov] I agree with you entirely. What you have said is another example of the serious defects in the activity of all our law enforcement orgnas. We have the laws, but often they do not all operate. In my view the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order should devote priority attention to this problem. If there is a law, it should operate.

[Correspondents] Does the implementation of a new nationalities policy in the country not raise the question of revoking or revising the fundamental documents on the basis of which our union was created?

[Chebrikov] Do you mean the union treaty? One sometimes hears it said that not all the republics that now make up the union signed the 1922 treaty. And that the political document that forms the basis of the Constitution—the Declaration—is obsolete and does not take account of the new realities.

True, not all the union republics signed the treaty in 1922, but all of them, without exception, affirmed their adherence to this treaty as they joined the USSR. It is open to this day, and fully retains its legal force. From

both the legal and the historical viewpoint, it would be wrong to revise decisions that expressed the people's will, their aspirations, and their commitment to unity.

As for the declaration, there is indeed a need to update it. This is dictated by the new political thinking, the new view of the modern face of socialism, and the need to sum up the experience that perestroyka has already yielded. A new declaration could be regarded as an integral part of the USSR Constitution and a fundamental political document in the context of the resolution of questions that arise or may arise in future.

[Correspondents] In this context there is much talk about the correlation between the competence of the USSR and that of the union republics. This talk is, in our view, often rather on the demagogic side; in the guise of, say, economic concepts people uphold purely political, "centrifugal" ideas...

[Chebrikov] I do not think there is any need to show that in a united multinational state the supremacy of the union law must exist. Without that, the existence of a united state is inconceivable.

The scale of the legislative activity of the union is another matter. Clearly it would be wrong if the union regulated literally every aspect of the republics' life. Its functions are to adopt laws that fall exclusively within the competence of the union, mainly concerning questions of the political system, the defense and security of the country, the pursuit of foreign policy, the coordination and resolution of general tasks in the sphere of the economy, science, and culture, the position of the individual, and the dynamic, steady development of the country's national economic complex. On the remaining questions, it suffices for it to confine itself to laying down general principles of legislation.

In order to open up scope for the new practice, it is proposed strictly to limit departmental norm-setting at union level. And all-union laws themselves should be adopted with the maximum possible participation by the republics, in conditions of mutual agreement. But the main thing—and I want to stress this yet again—is that after the adoption of such decisions, their supremacy should remain immutable.

The supreme constitutional obligation of our state is to defend human rights, the rights of the citizen throughout the country's territory, whatever republic he lives in. That is directly in line with international legal practice, too. Therefore, when it is a question of restricting the rights of a given people or even an individual on national or religious grounds or on the grounds of the time spent living in a particular territory, the state must defend and protect that people and every citizen against the infringement of their rights.

[Correspondents] In this context, what is your attitude toward the Law on Local Soviet Elections adopted by the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet session, which prescribes a residence qualification?

[Chebrikov] My stance is unambiguous: The introduction of a residence qualification is an action contrary to the USSR Constitution which tramples a fundamental human right, and this is unacceptable in any country, especially a socialist country.

[Correspondents] Viktor Mikhaylovich, at the start of our conversation you said that the correction and overcoming of past mistakes constitute one of the aspects of the new nationalities policy. Does this apply to a possible review of the borders of individual union republics and autonomies?

[Chebrikov] This is a fundamental [printsipialnyy] question. The past decades have seen a tremendous movement of population as a result of integration processes which were actively occurring in the country, the opening up of new territories, and the development of the economy in national regions. Today virtually every corner of our land is multinational. New economic ties have emerged. There are thousands and thousands of multinational families, many new traditions have come into being.

Only a frivolous person or someone who gives no thought to the possible consequences could declare that the "reshaping" of borders can be painless today.

We have all the opportunities—and the draft platform states this most definitely—to solve any national and social questions within the framework of the existing national-state structure.

Pay attention to the sections entitled "The Nationalities Question and Citizens' Rights" and "On National Cultures and Languages." They envisage the creation of guarantees for the free development of each people's culture and language and for the satisfaction of every nationality's requirements.

For example, the question of introducing a state language. It is fully within the power of the republics themselves. At the same time, the making of such a decision must not be aimed against any people. There must be complete freedom to choose the language of education, as well as equality of languages. All conditions will be created to preserve national traditions and to develop the cultures and languages of peoples living outside their national-territorial formations. Wherever necessary, it will be possible to form national rayons and rural or settlement soviets. Peoples that do not have their own autonomy will be given an opportunity to form all-union soviets. Special attention will be given to the status of smaller peoples in the North, Siberia, and the Far East.

In other words, what is proposed is a series of political measures which would really ensure equality of rights and opportunities for all peoples.

Not a "reshaping" of borders or, even worse, any squeezing out of entire peoples, but a policy of national reconciliation, a policy of compromises—this is the way out of any crisis situation. There is simply no other alternative.

[Correspondents] Viktor Mikhaylovich, it has so happened that, during the discussions of union republics' problems, the Russian Federation and its anguish seem to have remained on the "periphery," and yet quite a few most acute problems have accumulated here.

[Chebrikov] I agree, it is no secret that often the term "center" is taken to mean the largest republic and the Russian people, and on the political plane this often leads to the fanning of anti-Russian sentiments. At the same time, it is the Russian people who suffer most of all from central departments, since the latter operate with a noticeable lack of monitoring over Russia's vast expanses. Following lengthy debates and having thoroughly weighed all the "pros" and "cons," the Central Committee Politburo arrived at the conclusion that radical changes are needed in the running of the Russian Federation. As you can see, a series of measures are planned, including the setting up of a Central Committee Bureau (Secretariat) for the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and a future transition to management at large region level. Provided, of course, that these proposals meet with support.

[Correspondents] Is the granting of economic autonomy to republics not likely to result in the isolation of republic CPSU organizations?

[Chebrikov] There can be no question that this will have a certain effect on the activity of union republic communist parties. The framework of their autonomy will be expanded. But all this will occur on the basis of the uniform CPSU Statute and Program, in conformity with the principles of democratic centralism. I think everyone realizes that any division of the CPSU along national lines would be impermissible. The party has been and remains the main force of our society which consolidates the peoples and which has no loftier goal than to strengthen the unity of our state and to show concern for every people's national development.

[Correspondents] Following its publication, the draft CPSU platform "The Party's Nationalities Policy Under Present Conditions" will become a topic of discussion not only for CPSU members but also for all of the country's citizens. We are certain that a flood of letters will inundate the editorial offices of newspapers, journals, and television. They will naturally contain both support for and criticism of the document. What form is its discussion expected to take in the time remaining until the plenum? How will proposals and remarks be summed up?

[Chebrikov] First of all, we would like to ensure that everyone who studies the draft platform treats it as a document which lays down the basic guidelines for the party's political activity in the sphere of interethnic relations, as a foundation for future legislative work. The draft—without going into details and without offering detailed solutions for particular problems—nonetheless lays a political foundation beneath them, which union, republic, and local soviet organs will be able to use in creating a mechanism capable of resolving the pressing questions of the development of Soviet nations and interethnic relations.

As regards remarks, additions, and proposals on the document, they will all be examined in the CPSU Central Committee. The most valuable, most substantial, and most principled among them will be brought to the notice of the participants in the CPSU Central Committee plenum.

CPSU Deputy Views Nationalities Policy

LD1808225689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1645 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Interview with Vyacheslav Aleksandrovich Mikhaylov, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee State and Legal Department, by Galina Ulyanova on 17 August; place of interview not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Ulyanova] Vyacheslav Aleksandrovich, in recent times the nationalities issue has become particularly acute in our country. It causes us pain and alarm. For that reason the publication of the platform—or rather the draft platform of the CPSU—The Party's Nationalities Policy in Contemporary Conditions is a document of what I would call extraordinary importance because it determines the future life and development of our country. This document says that the platform put forward is the outcome of an analysis and comparison of the opinions of party committees, soviet bodies, and so on. I would like to start our conversation with this question: To what extent were different opinions taken into account during the drafting of this document? Were there any alternative opnions?

[Mikhaylov] The Central Committee received thousands of letters, thousands of proposals. Platforms have been put forward, not only by party committees, but also by the people's fronts of the Baltic republics and informal organizations. The problem, it seems, is how to find, in that range of opinions, the resultant force which truly reflects the will and the mood of the majority.

Here is what is curious. Several letters from ordinary citizens contained such an influx of thoughts and such profound empathy with the situation which we are facing

in the country and submitted, to put it bluntly, whole platforms. This is even without mentioning that these matters have been the subject of the most serious discussions at numerous scientific and scientific-practical conferences. There have been heated battles, in the fullest sense of the word, for each position.

Here I would single out the positions of union republics, the positions of autonomous republics, and the positions of the representatives of those working people who do not have any national-territorial formations. For instance, at the latest conference at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism there were speeches from representatives of the Greek population and the Kurdish population, representatives of the Meskhetian Turks and representatives of the Crimean Tatars.

That means that their voice has reached the party's Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Congress of People's Deputies. All this was analyzed and summarized. Naturally, there were a lot of alternative proposals, proposals which came in from informal organizations, people's fronts, and various unions; and the task was to ensure that not one viewpoint escaped the attention of the comrades who were summarizing and analyzing the material.

Some people consider that the most passionate desire is to leave the union. No, that's not the point. All our economic life, all our political life, all our history and our traditions, with their pains and bitterness, victories and defeats, have, strictly speaking, made all the peoples of our country, as it were, close and related to each other, totally close and related. Naturally, we are today witnesses of acute clashes and acute experiences. There are also voices saying that it is, perhaps, necessary to leave the union in order to try to build a happy society alone. I believe that that is, perhaps, even a natural feeling. But we have to construct our whole policy in a way that does not involve looking for the obligatory enemy. That is a characteristic of our propaganda—again, these are relics of the past—that for all grievances we absolutely have to look for an evil opponent, whether within the country or abroad. But the party is aiming today at thinking, first and foremost, about whether we can rectify, by our own efforts, the mistakes which already exist. And the more we have amicability in this matter, and the more we have not words, but actions, then these mistakes will be removed.

The main thing today is, again, for our economic reform to start working and for our political reform to start working, and for democracy and glasnost to develop. I believe that with such an amicable attitude many problems will be removed.

[Ulyanova] Now let us turn to the actual CPSU platform. We have here a quote from the document. I would like you to comment on them: The position of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, which voiced support for the Leninist principle of national self-determination to be reestablished in its original sense, is of exceptional importance.

[Mikhaylov] Yes, it is no mere accident that this matter was incorporated into the draft platform. Bitter argument surrounds it, and I shall not conceal the fact that, both in the large mailbag and in academic discussions, some comrades were inclined to think that the right of the nations of self-determination was realized just as soon as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was formed and that the many problems concerned with evening out the levels of economic development and establishing equality in law were resolved then. In actual fact, of course, this is a issue that goes much deeper. To head off speculation on this problem—speculation that our union is not a voluntary one—much has been written on this lately. for this reason the platform again confirms what was stated at the Congress of People's Deputies: That the right of nations to self-determination in the Leninist sense of the word, the right to withdraw from the composition of the USSR, remains a principle of our nationalities policy. The party supports this principle.

[Ulyanova] The platform speaks of stepping up—and again this is emphasized—internationalist upbringing, but in the new political way of thinking. How is this to be understood? What is internationalist upbringing in the new conditions, in the new political way of thinking? [passage omitted] Some people believe that Nagorno-Karabakh, the Fergana incidents, the relationship between the Georgians and Abkhazians—that all of this is the result of perestroyka. But I could quote dozens of instances of this sort of interethnic conflicts flaring up much earlier. We spoke less about them. Usually we covered up these disputes, but they existed. [passage omitted]

[Mikhaylov] The job of an internationalist upbringing is to uncover all that is most valuable and most intimate in the national upbringing. Every national upbringing contains something that links the Armenian and the Azerbaijani, the Georgian and the Abkhazian, the Russian and the Ukrainian, the Jew and the Estonian, and so on. Therefore, it is through the development of and respect for the national upbringing that we must foster a general attitude in which internationalism might become a gut conviction and not one that is foisted from outside.

So, at the end of this chat with you on this topic I would like to say that the new political way of thinking in internationalist upbringing is purely and simply a way of looking with honest and open eyes at the realities of our life, of seeing the dialectics of that life and of making decisions that follow logically from the realities of the life in which we exist and in which we live. This work is not nearing its end. In fact, it is only getting under way.

[Ulyanova] Vyacheslav Aleksandrovich, thank you for the interview. I would like to thank all the viewers who have listened to this conversation. All the best. Until we meet again. [video shows journalist and politician chatting; close up of PRAVDA frontpage with CPSU platform printed]

Official Comments on CPSU Nationalities Policy

LD1808033189 Moscow TASS in English 2038 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 17 TASS—"The draft platform of the Soviet Communist Party 'the party's nationalities policy in present-day conditions' is a many-faceted, substantive document of much importance for practical activity", said Vsevolod Kuzmin, deputy director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism at the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. "The problems against which the Soviet people came up have not arisen today. They are deeply rooted", he told TASS. "The situation was aggravating from one year to another because of a superficial approach to the nationalities question, also by high party officials and respectable academic institutes".

Summing up the aims of the document, Kuzmin said that, first of all, it is necessary to work out a platform for the rallying of all nations and peoples, all public forces of the Soviet Union. Second, there is a need for assessing deviations from the Leninist nationalities policies made in the past. "Full truth must be said about real processes of the development of inter-ethnic relations in the USSR. Utter confidence in inter-ethnic relations is needed. And it can form only on the basis of openness and complete truth", the scientist said. In deciding the policy in the area of culture the Soviet Communist Party proceeds from the recognition of the originality and unique value of national cultures.

Kuzmin noted that in dealing with the nationalities question the Soviet Communist Party adheres to the Leninist principle of consistent democratism and internationalism, which is the only possible way of resolving this question.

Vorotnikov Addresses Chukotka Aktiv Meeting

PM2108092989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unnamed TASS special correspondent report: "Solving Problems Comprehensively"]

[Text] Anadyr (Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, Magadan Oblast), 17 Aug—The intensification of agriculture, the acceleration of housing construction, the improvement of interethnic relations, and the development of local industry—these and other topical questions for the Far East were discussed in Anadyr today at a conference of the party and economic aktiv in which V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium, took part.

Many acute problems of the material and technical supply of Chukotka and its targeted financial backup were raised at the session by N.I. Kashtykin, first secretary of Chukotka CPSU Okrug Committee [okruzhkom], and by other speakers. They stressed that only a comprehensive approach to solving these difficult problems will make it possible to accelerate the region's socioeconomic progress.

The Soviet state, V.I. Vorotnikov said in his speech, is trying to give proper attention to all parts of the country, including Chukotka, its peoples, and the entire Chukotka territorial-industrial complex. Your region has immense potential resources of valuable minerals which play an important role in national economic turnover. Workers at gold-mining enterprises, coal miners, power workers, transport workers, and fishermen working in the severe northern conditions are making a great contribution to strengthening our motherland's economy.

It is well known that in the all-union division of labor the Far East is above all a powerful intersector fishing industry complex, which accounts for more than 40 percent of the fish caught in the country. It is also hard to overestimate the role of such sectors as the extraction of nonferrous and rare metals, machine building, the timber and wood processing industries, and maritime transport. The conditions exist for further developing agriculture, producing foodstuffs, and procuring furs.

The effective utilization of the Far East's potential is also important from the standpoint of solving the difficult economic problems which we have been encountering at the present stage, in the interests of overcoming crisis phenomena and dynamically developing restructuring processes. The accelerated development of regions also promotes the implementation of economic reform in the republic and the improvement of the economic mechanism. One other extremely substantive fact is that the region has good prospects for expanding its foreign economic relations.

Currently the paramount practical goal of all krays and oblasts in the Far East, the speaker stressed, is to fulfill the tasks of the region's long-term development program. It is having a positive influence on the growth of the effectiveness of social production and the priority resolution of social issues. The region's economy is developing quite stably in the current 5-year plan. The average annual growth rate of industrial output was 4.3 percent in the first 3 years of the 12th 5-Year Plan, which is higher than in the RSFSR as a whole. The labor productivity growth rates have been the same in industry.

Noting that program is being implemented with great intensity, V.I. Vorotnikov said that certain negative trends are not only failing to diminish but are actually increasing. Less than one-fourth of all projects are built or modernized in accordance with the set schedules. One of the most important program demands is not being

implemented in the machine building complex—that there be a reorientation of the structure of production to increase the proportion of output intended for local use. There have been no substantive changes in the chemical and timber complex. The situation concerning supplying the population with foodstuffs, particularly meat and milk, remains difficult. The republic's State Agro-Industrial Committee [Gosagroprom] and local soviet and economic organs are not taking effective measures to create in the south of the Far East a major agricultural complex which would produce output for regional consumption. Sufficient attention is not being paid to developing citizen's personal subsidiary farms. Forty three percent of farms in the Far East have no livestock.

Capacities in the construction complex—the construction industry base of the construction materials industry—are increasing impermissibly slowly. Things are tight in the social sphere, too. Not all Far East rayons are fulfilling their targets for the commissioning of preschool institutions, general education schools, hospitals, and medical centers. The investment allocated for these purposes is not being used.

A considerable amount of responsibility for the unsatisfactory state of the social sphere in eastern regions lies, beyond a shadow of a doubt, with the central organs, ministries, and departments, many of which continue to see the Far East and the Transbaykal area as a temporary economic installation and raw materials base.

But, at the same time, local economic, soviet, and party organs, too, have not proved equal to the task. There have been serious complaints about the leaders of many enterprises and farms. They take little interest in questions of individual housing construction and show no initiative or energy in resolving issues such as saturating the market with consumer goods.

There are also other reasons of a strategic nature, so to speak. The long-term program, it transpires, has two frankly weak points. It is now clear that it was not balanced sufficiently clearly and that many of its indicators were already obsolete before the program started to be implemented. The second point is that, in our view, the program, although called comprehensive, fails to take sufficient account of the need for the region's comprehensive development. People in Moscow are thinking seriously about whether the time has come to set up autonomous administrative structures for the entire Far East, which covers more than one-third of the RSFSR. It is a question of integrated party, soviet, and economic organs which would themselves handle most of the issues which the region's krays and oblasts currently refer directly to the central authorities. I think that this is an interesting idea. I would like to know the opinion of local leaders and the local public on this score.

Dwelling on the questions of safeguarding the interests of the ethnic groups living in the Far East, the speaker noted that the situation there is critical. In the regions inhabited by the ethnic groups of the North the health sphere is poorly developed and the level of housing provision is low. The proper trade, consumer, and cultural services to the population have not been organized, and traditional economic sectors are badly managed on an obsolete technical footing. They continue to be mainly suppliers of raw materials for industry. Progressive forms of labor organization, incentives, and the mechanization of labor-intensive processes are being introduced poorly. Output prime cost is high. All this has led to the exacerbation of the problem of the employment of the native population in social production.

Recently the RSFSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on additional measures to ensure the economic and social development of regions inhabited by the ethnic groups of the North on the basis of a painstaking analysis of the prevailing situation. These measures are aimed at the final period of the current and next 5-year plans. In order to sharply alter the situation it is planned above all to considerably increase the funds allocated for the development of these areas and to implement targeted financing for the construction of housing, sociocultural and municipal installations, and the provision of nature conservation and land management work out of the state budget. The relevant departments have been instructed to establish purchase and wholesale prices for output from the traditional economic and trade sectors at the level of prices of agricultural output.

Work in the sphere of education and culture will have to be considerably improved. Above all, it is a question of training teacher-training cadres from the ethnic groups of the North and creating the conditions to teach children their native languages, bearing in mind their parents' wishes. It is planned to improve the vocational orientation of young people and to ensure employment for the ethnic groups of the North in social production. The publication in their native languages of works by writers from the ethnic groups of the North, along with classics of Russian, Soviet, and foreign literature, is increasing. Ethnic cultural centers are being set up.

Clearly, the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium continued, the shortcomings in the resolution of issues connected with the development of the ethnic groups of the North reflect to a considerable extent the underevaluation of the nationalities question as a whole over the past few decades. This underevaluation has led to a sharp exacerbation of interethnic relations in a number of places. Undoubtedly, it is a question of galvanizing certain socioethnic processes whose development had long been shackled. These processes must be mastered and we must ensure that they develop within our unified socialist society—that is the task of party and soviet organs.

Naturally, this is only possible on the basis of a well-conceived and properly elaborated concept taking account of all the experience accumulated by civilization. The forthcoming CPSU Central Committee

plenum on interethnic relations is intended to play an important role in this respect. The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, for its part, has set up a special Commission for Questions of Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations in the RSFSR. It will study these matters and draw up specific proposals covering various aspects of interethnic problems.

The task facing us is extremely serious. Nations are exceptionally steadfast and vibrant entities, and the restructuring of our multinational home should ensure that it stands for centuries. The nationalities policy is designed to create the conditions for the free development of all Soviet peoples and the strengthening of their friendship and cooperation on the principles of the organic combination of the equality of peoples and people irrespective of their nationality. This can only be achieved within the framework of the overall restructuring process in unison with the transformations in the economic, social, and political spheres.

The problems of interethnic relations are highly topical for our entire multinational republic. A simplistic and negative approach to the dialectics of these relations was seen even during the resolution of the issues of the RSFSR's national state makeup and the organization of its relations with the other fraternal republics. The so-called asymmetrical model, which was to a certain extent justified in the early stages of the Soviet state's development, has now outlived its usefulness.

V.I. Vorotnikov noted that, however important the changes to the structure of state institutions may be and however broadly the democratization process develops, they will have little impact on society's prosperity if the economy is not progressively developed and if headway is not made in reforming the economic mechanism.

There is no need to prove that the union republics' transition to the principles of self-management and self-financing is impossible without taking account of the substantive differences in their economic conditions. This is also of particular importance for the largest republic—the RSFSR. Its economy specializes in developing Group "A" sectors and accounts for more than 76 percent of all industrial output—this is far more than in other union republics. We would add to this that two-thirds of RSFSR territory is located in the northern zone and adjoining regions. All this predetermines the fact that output is more capital- and labor-intensive than in other places, reducing economic efficiency. As is well known, the profitability of heavy industry sectors is half that of light industry, while that of the fuel and energy complex is three times lower.

Naturally, the equal development of the union republics and their economies—particularly during the transition to the principles of economic accountability—presumes the creation of corresponding compensation mechanisms. Subsidy, land rent, price, and credit mechanisms should be worked out. We are currently hard at work on this. We are striving to ensure that these questions are resolved taking account of the interests of each republic and state as a whole.

The speaker went on to note the importance of expanding contacts between Chukotka and Alaska, which are actually helping to build a bridge of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and the United States. We are united by common problems—the maintenance of the culture of the peoples of the North, nature in the Arctic, and, above all, the strengthening of world peace. The first contacts between U.S. and Soviet representatives have laid good foundations for future meetings. Intergovernmental agreements are currently being prepared on reciprocal trips by the inhabitants of Chukotka and Alaska, envisaging a simplified procedure for arranging mutual visits by invitation, and an agreement on a regional commission for the Bering Straits, which will deal with issues of the state border between the USSR and the United States in this region.

The same day V.I. Vorotnikov visited one of the best reindeer farms in the region—the "Kanchalanskiy" State Farm [sovkhoz]—and familiarized himself with reindeer breeders' living and working conditions in the tundra. He visited the Anadyr Meat and Dairy Food Combine and the "Severnyy" Intersectorial Sovkhoz.

The chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium laid flowers at the monument named for the first Chukotka Revolutionary Committee.

Yakovlev Discusses Soviet-German Pact, Protocol

PM1808113089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 89 First Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by unidentified PRAVDA correspondent: "The Events of 1939—The View From 50 Years Later"; date, place of interview not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The debate over the 23 August 1939 Nonaggression Pact between Germany and the USSR and its significance and consequences has recently intensified, particularly in connection with the 50th anniversary of Germany's invasion of Poland, after which the separate fires of World War II merged into a general, worldwide conflagration. Various, sometimes very extreme, viewpoints are expressed and conjectures and assumptions are made. In general, this is a well-intentioned quest for truth, but one also encounters facile interpretations of the events of those days that are as far from the truth as are the dogmatic versions of these events.

PRAVDA's correspondent had a conversation in this connection with A.N. Yakovlev, chairman of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies Commission for the Political and Legal Evaluation of the 1939 Soviet-German Nonaggression Pact.

[Correspondent] How far has the commission gone in fulfilling its instructions from the congress?

[Yakovlev] At present the commission members are busy formulating a document that is to be submitted to the second congress. It seems to me that in the course of sometimes heated debates, we have succeeded, by looking at firmly established facts and authentic documents, in reaching a common opinion on the main, principled assessments of the events of that extremely contradictory time.

I would like to stipulate that the commission does not set itself the task of rewriting history. Its aim is to understand the origins of events, their logic or lack of logic, whether the decisions were right or wrong, and what their various conseqeunces were. That is necessary if we are to remain firmly rooted in unprejudiced historicism.

The commission is motivated by the desire to restore the truth without embellishments or gaps, to avoid assessments based on convenience, and to discover the mainsprings of the processes occurring in 1939. Otherwise the past will stay with us for a long time to come as ballast hampering efforts to transform all aspects of Soviet society's life. The desire to penetrate to the heart of the matter, rather than replacing one half-truth with another, has done much to promote mutual understanding on many important questions, if you bear in mind how complex the subject of research is.

[Correspondent] Several versions of the conclusions that the commission, it is said, has already reached have become current recently. What are these reports based on?

[Yakovlev] The motives are evidently diverse, but this does not change the situation—work on the political and legal study of the circumstances of the conclusion of the 23 August pact and the content of the accords themselves is not complete. The commission has not yet summed up its results. All the statements about its conclusions are only personal opinions, whoever may put them forward. And I am not sure whether this haste does any good.

[Correspondent] It is well known that the conclusion of the Nonaggression Pact with Germany caught the Soviet and foreign public unawares. Prior to that, the USSR had been the most implacable and consistent opponent of fascism. And all of a sudden Nazi Germany became practically a partner. What gave rise to this turn of events?

[Yakovlev] True, and now it is even clearer than before that the party and people were not prepared for this volte-face. For more than 6 years the Soviet Union had not only unmasked fascism, identifying it with aggression and war, it was the only great power to enter into an armed struggle against it on the side of republican Spain, and to oppose the annexation of Austria and the division of Czechoslovakia.

The situation was such that the sparks of World War II flared up now here, now there, and the international situation built up actively and rapidly toward universal conflict. The conflagration was approaching. And in 1939, when the threat of a major war in Europe was really knocking at the door, the Soviet leadership tried yet again to create an antifascist front consisting primarily of the USSR, Britain, and France. In those conditions that would have been the only force capable of saving the world. But it was in vain.

And what can you do, if the other side enters into talks not for the sake of concrete accords, but for the purpose of political intrigue at your expense? What could be achieved, when the British and French leaders, as documents testify, were trying to divert the threat of German aggression from themselves and discharge Nazism's energy in expansion to the east? How could Poland be helped to deflect the danger of enslavement that hung over it, when its leaders would not even hear of any kind of direct or indirect cooperation with the Soviet Union and its armed forces?

Serious researchers—Soviet, Polish, British, West German, and others—admit that on 19-20 August, at the time of Stalin's consent to Ribbentrop's visit to Moscow in order to finally clarify Germany's intentions, the Soviet Union no longer had any choice. The USSR could not prevent war on its own. It had failed to acquire allies in Britain and France. It only remained to consider how to avoid being swept into the whirlpool of war, for which the USSR was even less prepared in 1939 than in 1941.

True, there is also another viewpoint on this. Some historians say that Germany also was not ready to invade the USSR in 1939. Perhaps that is true. At the same time, it was necessary to reckon with the very obvious likelihood of deals between Nazi Berlin and the other Western powers against the Soviet Union.

Let us take into account the historical fact that the operations plan "Weiss," approved by Hitler on 11 April 1939, envisaged that after inflicting military defeat on Poland, Germany would occupy Lithuania and Latvia. Consequently the war against the Soviet Union would have begun—then or soon after—from borders that favored the aggressor even more than 2 years later.

And that is not all. In August 1939 the Red Army was already engaged in heavy fighting at Halhin Gol, against the Japanese militarists. The latter, having suffered a major defeat, insisted that Berlin should fulfill its allied commitments under the "anti-Comintern [Communist International] pact."

[Correspondent] You mean that Stalin's choice in favor of a Nonaggression Pact with Germany was forced on him?

[Yakovlev] No, I am setting forth the facts and trying to understand them as a whole, to approach them from various angles, and to avoid the pressure of present-day political sentiments. And the facts, at least those that are known, state that by 20 August the military talks between the USSR, Britain, and France were at an impasse and had virtually collapsed. At the request of the British and French, an indefinite break in the talks was announced, although London knew as well as Moscow that the German aggression against Poland was scheduled for the period from 25 through 28 August and in any event no later than 1 September.

Let me note that the Germans had an alternative course of action in reserve, in case the Soviet leadership refused to receive Ribbentrop (incidentally, the initial requests for him to be received were turned down). At secret talks in mid-August, London and Berlin agreed on a visit to the British Isles by the second-ranking figure in the Third Reich, Goering, for a secret meeting with Chamberlain on 23 August. According to the documents, the two empires were planning to work out a "historic compromise" on a global scale, ignoring the interests of not only the USSR, Poland, and a number of other East European countries, but even France.

That, it seems to me, was the point of Hitler's double game: To continue secret contacts with the British leadership on the subject of an agreement "a la Munich," while using the prospect of the conclusion of a Nonaggression Pact with the Soviet Union to pressure the British. Either possibility suited Hitler at that time—Moscow's acceptance of his proposal for a pact, or its rejection. The latter course would have allowed Hitler to tell his subjects, when the time came: I stretched out the hand of friendship to Russia, the Bolshevik regime did not accept it, it proved that it is the enemy of the German Reich, and in talking to an enemy you should use the language of force. Clearly that is approximately how events would have developed. To the satisfaction, furthermore, of London and Paris, which anticipated beforehand that Germany and the USSR would bleed each other dry, and the Western democracies would then be able to dictate their terms for peace.

Obviously, I am analyzing the documents, the logic of the concrete events that went before, events in which the USSR was on the sidelines, but its interests were used as bargaining counters.

It is another matter that the accord with fascist Germany in itself leaves an unpleasant aftertaste of a moral nature, of an ideological order. It is hard to suppress the desire to ask oneself: Were there no other possibilities, was everything possible done, on the one hand, to delay war, and on the other, to avoid engaging in explanations with the Nazi regime? History, however, is history, and it does not have a subjunctive mood. Furthermore it is hardly justified to use only the moral yardstick to judge what happened (applying it exclusively to the USSR). The decisive fact cannot be left out of the analysis—that it was not the Soviet Union that attacked Germany, but Germany that attacked the Soviet Union.

[Correspondent] One can conclude from your words that the initiative to conclude the Nonaggression Pact came from Germany. Is that correct?

[Yakovlev] Yes, it is indeed. On Hitler's instructions, the German foreign policy department began preparing the ground for this in the fall of 1938, immediately after Munich. The Nazi leaders called this maneuver "staging a new Rapallo" in Soviet-German relations. But, as E. von Weizsaecker, secretary of state at the German Foreign Ministry, noted in his diary, the Germans' soundings, their "courting" of Moscow, went unanswered for a long time. Even when, in late July and early August 1939, the German side put forward for the first time in so many words the idea of reviving the 1926 treaty on neutrality or concluding a Nonaggression Pact, as well as dividing up Soviet and German interests "from the Baltic to the Black Sea," the USSR was in no hurry to respond.

Clearly Stalin first wanted to find out what results could be achieved at the Anglo-Franco-Soviet talks that were due to begin shortly in Moscow. Although, according to information that had reached him, there were no particular grounds for optimism, he decided to find out for himself what the chances were. Priority was given to these talks.

Judging from the documents, Stalin did not trust anyone, but all the same he saw London and Paris as slightly less black than Berlin. Here is G.M. Dimitrov's diary entry about a conversation with Stalin on 7 September. "We preferred an agreement with so-called democratic countries, and therefore we held talks," G.M. Dimitrov says, quoting Stalin, "but Britain and France wanted to use us as laborers without paying any wages!"

It is worth stressing the following. At that time Britain and France had already formalized their own nonaggression accords with Germany, and thus were objectively in a better position than us. It should also be mentioned that the Germans' main strike forces were concentrated not in the west, but in the east, and that after the Anschluss of Austria and the occupation of Czechoslovakia it was in the eastern salient that the most favorable opportunities were perceived for implementing the Reich's widely publicized plans.

Even with the most critical view of Stalin's domestic and foreign policy of the period, which that policy entirely merits, all the same it must be noted, if we are not to lapse into prejudice and sin against the facts, that the Soviet Union's national interests required energetic actions. Since it did not prove possible collectively to

curb the aggressor, it was necessary to consider how to prevent the "Polish campaign" from becoming the prelude to the occupation of the Baltic region and the implementation of Hitler's plans for obtaining "Lebensraum" and occupying the Ukraine as a "food and raw materials base" for the Reich, how to curb the movement to the east.

[Correspondent] Nonaggression pacts were common practice in the prewar period. So in itself the signing of such a pact between Germany and the Soviet Union should not apparently have prompted a negative reaction in the world. But the West, as we remember, gave the 23 August 1939 pact a hostile reception. Why was that?

[Yakovlev] In part, I have probably already answered that question. Knowing that war would begin no later than 1 September, the British Government instructed its chief delegate at the Moscow military talks, Admiral Drax, to avoid any agreements that would be binding on London, and to "beat about the bush" until October. What were they hoping for? The very fact of the trilateral talks was to create an effect of unpredictability and, the British capital estimated, hamper "rapprochement between Berlin and Moscow." With the conclusion of a Soviet-German pact the "game" would be over. The British and French Governments knew very well that the time of peace in Europe was running out, and with it the "policy of appeasement" of aggressors would end. The hour had struck when everything had to resolve itself.

London and Paris completely lost interest in the Soviet Union. Chamberlain and his ministers started feverishly seeking ways to mollify Hitler at the last moment without losing face, and at the same time to obtain from Germany pledges for the future that would be more durable than those it gave and promptly broke before Munich, during Munich, and after Munich. Chamberlain and his friends very much hoped that the Poles would play along, as Benes had once done in Czechoslovakia. But life turned out differently.

Documents indicate that on 23-24 August, the day after the signing of the Nonaggression Pact with Germany, Stalin felt extremely uncertain: What if Hitler were to use the pact as a stick to beat the concessions he needed out of Britain and France, and derail the "new Rapallo"?

Through various channels, Stalin tried to persuade Paris and London to continue the Moscow military talks, and even set a rough date for their resumption—30 August. There was no response to these proposals.

[Correspondent] It has been known for some time that a secret additional protocol was appended to the Nonaggression Pact. What can you say about that?

[Yakovlev] The question of the secret protocol is far more difficult to evaluate than the pact itself. But first, the following must be noted.

First, secret agreements or appendices to treaties were concluded frequently in the prewar period. Many times the Soviet Union was itself the target of such secret deals, made between the Germans, the British, the French, and the Poles.

Second, although the original of the secret protocol has not been discovered, its existence is not in doubt, in the light of the documents that have come to light, some of them only in the last few months. Furthermore the troops—German and Soviet—were guided in their subsequent actions by the demarcation line set by this protocol and by the protocol of 28 September of the same year.

On 1 September Germany invaded Poland. On 17 September Red Army units entered the territory of the Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia. There was clearly a limit beyond which the Germans did not go to the east, and Soviet troops did not go to the west. Such things do not happen by chance. And that is better confirmation than any piece of paper that the demarcation of interests occurred, and was recorded in some form or other.

That is the factual side of the matter. But there remains the question of a political and legal evaluation of these protocols. From the political viewpoint, and this must be said frankly, we are looking at a deviation, first and foremost, from the Leninist norms of Soviet foreign policy, from Lenin's break with secret diplomacy, and a revision of the strategic course of collective security.

As I have already said, the originals of the secret protocol have not been discovered in our own or foreign archives. We can now judge the text of the accord from a photographic film on which, according to the official West German story, certain documents that were kept in Ribbentrop's office were recorded at the end of the war. For me personally, it is of no consequence to what extent the text of the copy is authentic. The important thing is how the deal was concluded. And there certainly was a deal.

Prior to Ribbentrop's arrival in Moscow, only Stalin and Molotov knew about the contacts with Berlin, which developed into talks from 15 August. None of the party and state leaders except them knew about the secret protocol. The protocol was not discussed in the Politburo, the Supreme Soviet, or the government. It was excluded from the ratification procedures. Strictly speaking, it was a question of recording the sides' intentions, since legally, by virtue of the said peculiarities of its compilation, the protocol cannot be described as a legal act, that is, an act having legal consequences.

I repeat, the idea of dividing up the interests of the two powers came from the Germans. Seizing on it, Stalin and Molotov insisted that Berlin's solemn promises to respect Soviet interests should be in written form. Stalin was wary of being satisfied with promises that were not

formalized. All the same, he had no need to take the text of the protocol literally, if, of course, the copy is faithful to the version prepared at the German Foreign Ministry and brought to Moscow in Ribbentrop's briefcase. The great-power claim to "territorial and political restructuring" [pereustroystvo] in the region was, however you look at it, in conflict, from the legal viewpoint, with the sovereignty and independence of a whole range of countries. It did not accord with the letter and spirit of the treaties the USSR had concluded earlier with those countries, or with our commitments under all circumstances to respect their sovereignty, territorial integrity, and inviolability.

In my opinion Stalin took an unjustified risk by sanctifying with Molotov's signature, on the eve of an approaching war, the "territorial and political restructuring" of Poland. This venture could have ended by dragging the USSR into the war, instead of giving us a breathing space. Not to mention the fact that this way of acting, on the part of the then Soviet leaders, in no way reflected the Soviet people's will, and was not consonant with their mood.

I believe we would be acting responsibly and in a politically principled way by condemning unequivocally the prewar Soviet leadership's departure from the Leninist principles of foreign policy, whatever the explanation for that departure.

[Correspondent] Is it correct to assert that in the context of the 23 August 1939 Nonaggression Pact Stalin and Hitler coordinated all their subsequent actions for 1939-1941?

[Yakovlev] First, neither on the day the pact was concluded, nor before, nor after that date did there exist between the leaders of the USSR and Germany a vestige of the trust that is necessary to conduct a frank, long-term discussion.

Second, neither Stalin nor Hitler was clairvoyant. They could not have predicted how events would turn out. How capable would the Polish Army turn out to be? Assumptions made at headquarters are one thing, reality is another. It was not clear whether Britain and France would side with Poland, and if so, how they would act. Whether they would confine themselves to a "phony war," which British Ambassador Henderson had discussed with Hitler as a possible option, or whether they would take advantage of the exposure of Germany's western borders and the enormous superiority that the French had there. Much was unknown.

Third, looking ahead a little, let me note that Berlin regarded the events in the Baltic region in 1940 as a violation of the 23 August accords and a departure by Moscow from its "categorical assurances."

Some examples. From around spring 1939, the German special services set about the preparation of "people's uprisings" in Galicia and certain other Ukrainian regions under Polish control. The idea was to establish a base of "West Ukrainian statehood," with the aim of a subsequent Anschluss of the Soviet Ukraine. Even after the invasion of Poland the Abwehr received orders to organize mass carnage among the Poles and Jews living in the Ukrainian and Belorussian regions, in the guise of an "uprising," and then to embark on the formation of an "independent" Ukrainian entity.

Preparations were proceeding in parallel for incorporating Lithuania into the Reich by means of the conclusion of a "defense treaty" with it. But apparently Hitler soon decided that he could do without the intermediate stages, and on 25 September 1939 he signed Directive No 4, in which he gave the order to concentrate in East Prussia forces sufficient for the speedy occupation of Lithuania even in the event of military resistance on its part.

And that is probably what would have happened, had it not been for the conclusion on 28 September 1939 of the treaty on "friendship and borders" between Germany and the USSR, which adjusted the spheres of interests. The demarcation line in Poland now corresponded to the "Curzon line," which was established under the Treaty of Versailles as the eastern Polish border, while the western border of Lithuania was designated the limit of German interests. Among other things, on the basis of the 23 August accord Vilnius and the adjoining regions, which were seized by bourgeois Poland in 1920, were restored to Lithuania.

In general, what happened was what Chamberlain had been warned of by his own military experts and a number of his party colleagues—if Britain prevents the conclusion of an Anglo-Franco-Soviet military alliance, the USSR will have no alternative but to come to terms with Germany. While events were still fresh in the mind, in September 1939, W. Churchill expressed understanding that the USSR had to create a "front" against German expansion and think about ensuring that the contiguous Baltic countries did not come under the control of states hostile to the USSR.

[Correspondent] In the stormy debates raging today, especially in the Baltic region, one hears the view that the Nonaggression Pact and the secret protocol to it are in effect the legal basis of all the subsequent changes in Europe. And therefore the restoration of the prewar picture requires that the pact be declared invalid from the outset. How would you formulate your own viewpoint?

[Yakovlev] If you adopted that position, you would have to declare the war invalid, void. Only I do not know how you would then classify the millions of lives it cost.

Attempts to exclude from any treaties with Germany the territorial and other European realities that have taken shape as a result of the war and postwar developments disregard the facts, or deliberately misinterpret them. I have mentioned some of these facts. Disputes in principle are superfluous, since the Nonaggression Pact and other accords with Germany lost all legal validity on 22 June 1941. Any special confirmation of this situation, as, for instance, in the 30 July 1941 agreement between the governments of the USSR and Poland, was mainly of a symbolic nature, which is understandable and justified in the specific conditions of the time.

The 23 August pact can be looked at in entirely different ways, but in that case it should be acknowledged that neither the pact nor the protocol to it defined the legal and political status of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. The change in their status took place by virtue of other circumstances. It is even more far-fetched to seek any connection between the present position of the three republics and the Nonaggression Pact.

During and after the war a new basis developed for the structure of the world and of Europe. New principles of relations between states arose, which are enshrined in the UN Charter, in a whole system of peace treaties, and in such unprecedented decisions as the Helsinki Final Act.

What would be the point of confirming the fact of the annulment of the 1939 treaties by the war, and of denouncing the secret protocols to those treaties? Apart from the aforementioned considerations of principle, there is another factor of considerable importance. A moral factor. All the old grievances, injustices, and deformations make themselves felt, and they are sensitive in the extreme when national dignity and interests are affected. Here too, much still remains to be done, in our Soviet home as elsewhere. The path to a new quality of life in our multinational federation lies through people's power, the equality of all nations and all citizens, wherever they live, and respect for their dignity, always and in everything. Nationalism in any form is a mortal poison to any society, and common sense and a mature culture are the remedies. Not in disunity, but in the rallying of forces for the sake of our lofty goal—that is where I see the answer to the challenges of the time.

[Correspondent] To sum up the balance of what happened 50 years ago, what now appear to be the pluses and minuses in the decisions adopted in 1939?

[Yakovlev] All the agreements and deals of that time lost their significance and force at the moment of Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union. That is international practice, and it is a natural state of affairs. What happened later was determined by different factors. Therefore an evaluation of the conseqeunces of the conclusion of the 23 August 1939 pact will be correct provided it fits into the concrete historical framework.

First and foremost, the USSR gained time to prepare to rebuff German aggression, which Stalin himself considered inevitable, although the time thus gained was by no means used in the best possible way. That contention can hardly be disputed. But that has nothing to do with the 23 August pact as such.

The line on which the Soviet Union could defend itself was moved several hundred kilometers away from Leningrad, Minsk, and other national centers. It is not without interest that a number of prominent German military men regarded that change in the strategic situation as a "betrayal" by Hitler of the interests of the Reich, largely devaluing the benefits of the "Polish campaign."

The conclusion of the Soviet-German Nonaggression Pact had an impact on relations between Berlin and Tokyo. The anti-Comintern structure was damaged. Japan lost confidence in its ally, and had not fully regained it by the end of the war. Tokyo was forced to revise its own military doctrine, and postpone indefinitely its plans for aggressive actions against the USSR.

Finally, looking at the pluses, the Western powers at last began to reckon with the Soviet Union as a military and political factor. The USSR had no less right than other states to designate the front line of its vital interests in conditions where the lightning of war was already flickering overhead. For better or for worse, the pact and the protocol to it upset, at least for a time, the system of channeling Hitler's expansionism in the direction of the Soviet Union. Germany was forced to moderate its claims for domination of the entire Baltic basin and a free hand throughout Eastern and Southeastern Europe, which "appeasers" near and far had been vying with one another to satisfy since 1933. We ceased to be the target of other people's policy, and proved that we were capable of pursuing our own course in world affairs.

At the same time the USSR's turn away from implacable struggle and toward cooperation with Nazi Germany, which came as a surprise to many circles, disoriented democratic, peace-loving forces to a considerable extent. Many communist parties found themselves in an extremely difficult position, being instructed by a Comintern decision to justify what only yesterday they had resolutely condemned.

And another thing. In the ruling circles of Britain, France, and the United States those who opposed all cooperation with the USSR gained strength. They eagerly transposed their own sins to others and sought revenge elsewhere for their own mistakes. In 1939-1941 repeated attempts were made to curtail the armed conflict between the Western powers in order to satisfy their appetites in a joint campaign against the Soviet Union.

It should be admitted that the 23 August 1939 pact and especially Stalin's inclination, which became established from late September, toward parallel actions with Germany, gave the Nazi leadership more freedom to maneuver, in particular in the implementation of a number of military operations.

[Correspondent] You have mentioned the 28 September treaty a couple of times. What is the relationship between the Nonaggression Pact and the Treaty on "Friendship and Borders"?

[Yakovlev] In my view they are entirely different treaties. The first is a peacetime treaty, the second a treaty concluded with a country that has committed an undisguised act of aggression. The first was basically in line with the international practice of the time, the second in effect called into question, or even undermined, the status of the USSR as a neutral, and pushed our country into unprincipled cooperation with Nazi Germany.

There was absolutely no direct need for the 28 September treaty. The change in the demarcation line could have been recorded in some other way. For opportunist reasons, however, at the end of September Stalin accepted major political and moral costs in order, as he saw it, to secure Hitler in a position of mutual understanding, only not with the USSR, but with himself.

[Correspondent] And finally, Aleksandr Nikolayevich, one last question: Will the secret protocol to the 23 August pact be published, as well as, perhaps, other little-known documents?

[Yakovlev] The USSR Foreign Ministry intends, to the best of my knowledge, to publish many documents from that time.

I am convinced that the truth—however difficult—is the best way to eliminate old misunderstandings and prevent new ones from arising. Again and again, thoughtfulness in forming opinions, responsibility in actions, and honesty to oneself. You cannot rewrite history. It wrote itself a long time ago. It only remains for us to read the annals of the past. Thoughtfully and without distortion, so as not to repeat the trials we have already experienced. Especially when it comes to an experience for which the peoples of the Soviet Union paid an incredibly high price.

Bill on Lithuania's Minorities To Be Published

LD1908155289 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] A bill on ethnic minorities residing in Lithuania is going to be published in Saturday's [19 August] press for public discussion. The bill is extremely precise and concrete. Seven articles and the preamble describe the relationship of the Lithuanian state with the people of various nationalities residing here, as well as the rights and [words indistinct] of some groups and individuals. All the ethnic groups are guaranteed free national development. They are also guaranteed the right to unite into cultural organizations, the status to support the development of their national culture and education, and so on. The bill that provides the juridical basis of the political, economic, social, and cultural equality of all the ethnic groups residing in Lithuania determines their main duty to be the establishment and development of an independent democratic Lithuanian state. Everybody should live according to the constitution of Lithuania.

We would like to draw your attention to the sixth article of the bill. According to this article, the activities of a national cultural organization can be cut short if they are dangerous for the unity and sovereignty of the Lithuanian state and provoke interethnic disturbances. The necessity of the law is evident. However, its project should have been published much earlier so as to avoid the unnecessary interethnic hostility that cropped up because of the bill on election, referendum, and citizenship which are being discussed by the Lithuanian public at present.

Lithuania's Brazauzkas on Party's New Direction

LD1908150889 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Today [18 August] the Lithuanian Communist Party leader Algirdas Brazauskas gave his traditional Friday radio interview. Mr Brazauskas said that the Lithuanian Communist Party should acquire this year already a new status of its own. A commission specially set up for the purpose is going to discuss next week the draft rules and program of the Communist Party of Lithuania which will be published in the Lithuanian press later on. According to Algirdas Brazauskas the Lithuanian Communist Party is going to dissociate itself from its past, as the majority of the Lithuanian Communists are of a new generation.

Speaking about relations with Moscow, Algirdas Brazauskas rejected the constant instructions and reproaches made by the center and spoke for a dialogue with equal partners. The Lithuanian Communist Party leader stressed that the plenum on national issues of the Soviet Communist party's Central Committee is still too far away and the new draft constitution of the Soviet Union has not yet even begun to be worked out.

Estonian First Deputy Premier Approved

PM2807095589 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 9 Jul 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Excerpts] The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium discussed cadre questions at its 6 July session. I. Toome, chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, submitted a proposal to approve R. Otsason for the newly created post of first

deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers. In this post he is to tackle the further development of the economic reform in the republic, the organization of the republic's foreign economic ties, and the coordination of scientific research, with particular regard for the role of science in the management of public affairs. In this connection, a proposal was submitted to release R. Otsason from his duties as deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Estonian SSR State Planning Committee. A proposal was submitted to approve E. Savisaar for this post. R. Otsason and E. Savisaar delivered short reports. The candidacies of the said comrades were discussed beforehand at a session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Budget and Planning Commission, on whose behalf Deputy Chairman Kh. Lumi supported the government's proposal. The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium unanimously supported the proposal of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers and approved the aforesaid cadre changes. [passage omitted]

I. Maran was approved as state arbiter of the Estonian SSR. [passage omitted]

Leningrad Obkom Draws Up Political Program

LD1908220789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] On 19 August a meeting of the Leningrad oblast party committee [obkom] aktiv was devoted to drawing up a comprehensive political program of action to intensify restructuring in present-day conditions. This was preceded by broad discussion in the primary organizations and labor collectives. The suggestions put forward by the communists formed the basis of the theses—a sort of platform for one of the largest party organizations in the country on the most topical problems of restructuring. It will now be translated into specific plans and tasks for communists.

The idea that the party must continue to take responsibility for all the processes that are going on in society was clearly voiced at the meeting. Presently there is no force apart from the CPSU that is capable of managing these processes. The aktiv participants advocated dialogue and cooperation with all public organizations that have as their aim the intensification of restructuring. The obkom's theses envisage a switch in political and organizational activity to asserting the fundamental needs, spiritual and otherwise, of the working person. Radical changes are planned in the means and methods of ideological influence. An open and candid conversation with people in the conditions of a socialist plurality of views is the main content of ideological work. The suggestion was made that the buro and the organs it controls should make regular reports at plenums of the party committees, while members of elective bodies should do likewise at meetings of the primary organizations. There should be direct elections of secretaries of the party committee and buro—on a multicandidate basis, as a general rule—while the selection and placing of cadres should everywhere be performed openly and on a competitive basis.

It was noted that the concept of switching to regional financial autonomy, self-government, and self-financing would shortly be put forward for discussion by the Leningraders and then presented to the Government of the USSR. The city of Lenin must be reinstated as a center of Soviet and world culture. Democracy and openness are coming to be a rule of thumb for the work of Leningrad's party organization. The direct television coverage and the previously announced telephone numbers that enabled the population to contact the press center that was set up in a sense broke down the walls of the Tauride Palace, where the meeting of the aktiv was taking place, and gave all Leningraders a chance to participate.

Gidaspov, first secretary of the CPSU Obkom, spoke at the meeting.

RSFSR Appoints Construction Minister

LD1908090889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0000 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium has decided to appoint Yuriy Leonidovich Nazarov the minister of construction in the eastern parts of the RSFSR.

Donbass Strikes Affect Leadership, Production

PM2008151589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

[Correspondent B. Glotov report under the rubric "Today's Burning Issue": "Confrontation Is Useless"]

[Text] Donetsk Oblast—Passions were on the boil for 3 days running at the Palace of Culture named for Krupskaya in the mining city of Snezhnoye. An extraordinary party conference here was deciding the future of the city party organization leaders. It was convened at the demand of the city strike committee, which is still operating to this day. The miners expressed a lack of confidence in the secretaries of the city party committee [gorkom], the members of its bureau, and many members and candidate members of the gorkom. They were all removed from the party gorkom and released from the positions they held.

V. Malinovskiy led the city party organization for almost 10 years. He seems to have done a fair amount. Housing construction increased severalfold, the city acquired a main gas supply network.

But other "crying" social and everyday problems remained unsolved for many years on end. The city's residents hope that the arrival of new leaders will mark the beginning of a more energetic and more consistent solution of these problems.

The same is also expected by miners in Donbass mining cities like Dzerzhinsk, Torez, and Shakhtersk, where plenums have elected new [pereizbrat] gorkom first secretaries.

The mighty strike waves have "drowned" not only party leaders but also many economic and trade union leaders. Lack of confidence was expressed in over 30 mine directors, and 8 of them are no longer in office.

The state of affairs at coal-mining enterprises is alarming. A process of demarcation of forces is under way at many mines. You have the administration and the engineering and technical staff at one end, with the workers at the other. Some leaders are paralyzed, they have ceased issuing autonomous orders and are doing only what is prescribed by the labor collective councils. Some have taken the stance of the offended party and are unwilling to taken the workers' opinion into account. Both positions are dangerous since they lead to disorganization in production and breaches of discipline and safety regulations.

A crisis situation? Maybe. But there is a way out. The strike has thrown many leaders into a state of trance and numbness. They must shake themselves out of it.

It is possible that some strike committees and labor collective councils have gone over the top by declaring that they themselves would tackle all processes at the mines. This is an incorrect stance: Nobody has repealed the labor legislation that gives leaders the right to take people to task for breaches of discipline. Therefore directors must find a common language with the labor collective councils and must act jointly in the interests of production.

"The strike has really aroused the miner collectives," V. Ilyushenko, general director of the "Donetskugol" Association, said. "Relations between workers and leaders at the mines are still being clarified. Much effort and energy are being wasted on this, and the situation—instead of stabilizing—is actually deteriorating at many enterprises."

He cited the following figures. The association lost 300,000 tonnes of coal in July, and the "negative balance" for August is already in excess of 120,000 tonnes. Over half the enterprises are failing to cope with plan targets. The include the mine named for Zasyadko, the No 1 "Yuzhno-Donbasskaya" Mine, and many others.

The situation is no better in other associations in the coal field, with the debt to consumers in August already in excess of 600,000 tonnes of coal.

Mines are complex production organisms, and therefore it must not be forgotten that the slightest disruption of their activity results in losses which are difficult to remedy.

Shcherbitskiy Addresses Kiev Gorkom Plenum

18001524 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
23 Jul 89 pp 1-2

[Report on plenum of Kiev city party committee on 22 July: "Not Letting Go of Political Initiative, Mastering New Work Methods"]

[Text] Yesterday, 22 July, there was a plenum of the Kiev party gorkom [city committee] at which they discussed the question of organization.

A speaker at the plenum, the first secretary of the party gorkom, **K.I. Masik**, requested to be relieved of the duties of bureau member and first secretary of the gorkom. He said this decision of his was dictated by only one thing: helping the city party organization rally at this difficult time, and finding new forces within itself to solve the difficult and responsible problems facing the party and communists of the city. My decision has been well considered and reached through difficulty. This is by no means a manifestation of cowardice on my part in a difficult political situation, or a desire to hide from responsibility.

What was the basis for making such a decision? Party personnel are verified through democratic elections by the people. This was also discussed at a recent conference in the CPSU Central Committee—in the report of M.S. Gorbachev. I did not receive the Kievans' support in the elections of USSR people's deputies. The main reasons for this were analyzed in detail at the plenum of the party gorkom. I think that I am the only one to blame for my defeat in the elections, for I did not take into account the peculiarities or the new aspects of the election campaign; I did not have a sufficiently profound knowledge of the situation in the city; and I approached the elections, as they say, with old standards. And now, as a result of all this, it has become very difficult for me to work. I ask that you understand me correctly. I explained my position when I met with a number of party activists, members of the party gorkom in Leningradskiy Rayon, in other collectives, and in the party gorkom. Yesterday this question was discussed at the gorkom bureau and at a meeting with first secretaries of party raykoms.

I regard my work as first secretary of the gorkom as an expression of a high degree of confidence from the communists of the city. Analyzing the work that has been done by the gorkom, its bureau, and the party committees, one should say that they put forth a good deal of effort to mobilize communists and workers of the city to carry out the tasks facing them. With respect to a number of indicators, Kiev industry has reached the level of the assignments of the five-year plan. The entire increase in

production volume is being achieved through growth in labor productivity and there are contractual deliveries for 99.9 percent of it. The city party organization has become a leader of the struggle for solving socioeconomic problems. We are providing for the complete cycle of the program for the introduction of housing, and last year for the first time we reduced the waiting list for housing by 4,000 families. Many problems related to improving health protection are being solved. Last year the number of polyclinics that were introduced increased by a factor of 2.4, compared to preceding years. Social, cultural, and domestic facilities are being constructed at accelerated rates. In a word, certain strides in the socioeconomic sphere are in evidence. But there are also many problems and unresolved issues. The gorkom bureau, I personally, and the communists of the city have done far from everything possible and the criticism directed against us is completely justified.

The next to speak was a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine **V.V. Shcherbitskiy**, who said that I.I. Masik's resignation had been considered at the meeting of the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, had been thoroughly discussed, and all the pros and cons had been weighed carefully. It was decided to grant K.I. Masik's request. We think that he made a correct and respectable decision. If you support the request of K.I. Masik it would be logical to appoint him as deputy chairman of the UkrSSR [Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, where he has worked previously for 5 years and proved himself fairly well when handling transportation and other issues that are now very important and involve a great deal of responsibility. The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine recommends him for this post.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy went on to say that the gorkom bureau and the first secretaries of the party raykoms had suggested for the position of first secretary of the party gorkom A.I. Korniyenko, who works as deputy chief of the department for party construction and personnel work of the CPSU Central Committee. A large part of his life is linked to Kiev. After completing the technical institute for light industry he began his labor activity at footwear factory No 1. Here he was secretary of the Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] committee, foreman, and shop chief. He has worked as secretary of the Kiev Obkom [oblast committee] and first secretary of the Komsomol Gorkom. He was elected first secretary of the Shevchenkovskiy party raykom [rayon committee] of the city of Kiev. Then he returned to the Komsomol and was for 3 years second secretary and for 8 years first secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Komsomol. He worked for 4 years in the position of first secretary of the Ternopol party obkom and then 2 years as chief of the department for organizational party and personnel work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. A half year ago he was nominated for the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee. Korniyenko is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and a USSR people's deputy.

There was a pointed discussion based on principles in which more than 20 people participated. The comrades who spoke noted the importance of the current stage of perestroyka and emphasized the need to update the style and methods of party work and increase the responsibility of party committees and local party organizations and all personnel for the state of affairs in the city.

The first secretary of the Shevchenkovskiy party raykom, **G.G. Nechitovskiy**, said in his speech that all members of the gorkom were responsible for the situation that exists in the city. A large number of unsolved problems have accumulated in Kiev. They are brought up in the labor collectives every day. They must be seriously discussed at the next plenum of the party gorkom. Having supported Comrade Masik's request, the speaker announced that the question of the first secretary of the gorkom had been discussed extensively with the party aktiv. This was discussed in a conversation with the first secretaries of the party raykoms in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, at meetings of the party gorkom bureau, and at meetings with members of the electoral organs of the city party organization that took place in all the rayons. During the course of these discussions a number of comrades were mentioned who could head the city party organization, but everyone agreed on the candidacy of Comrade A.I. Korniyenko.

Certain speakers, particularly the secretary of the party committee of the aviation production association, **D.G. Bolgarov**, and a fettler at this same enterprise, **V.N. Kalinin**, expressed doubt about the expediency of Comrade Masik's departure from the post of first secretary of the gorkom. It was noted that communists of the association supported him and thought that even after his failure in the elections he could continue to lead the city party organization. A fitter from the machine tool production association, **K.V. Demin**, and the secretary of the party committee of the Leninskaya Kuznitsa plant, **A.N. Vishnevetskiy**, pointed out the need to clarify in the local party organizations the reasons for Comrade Masik's departure and the election of a new first secretary.

The first secretary of the Radyanskiy party raykom, **N.V. Tishchenko**, director of the A.P. Dovzhenko Artistic Film Studio, **N.P. Mashchenko**, first secretary of the Zaliznichnyy party raykom, **M.A. Grovenko**, secretary of the party committee of the machine tool building association, **V.B. Yalovoy**, and others noted that the first secretary of the party gorkom was not always able in his work to rely on certain secretaries and members of the gorkom bureau, and emphasized the need to make greater demands on them for the sections of work entrusted to them. In order to evaluate the contribution of each, it is necessary to take advantage of the forthcoming bureau report at the gorkom plenum.

By a majority of votes with four voting against, the plenum released K.I. Masik from the duties of bureau member and first secretary of the Kiev Gorkom of the Communist Party of the Ukraine at his request and because of his transfer to other work.

Discussing the question of the first secretary of the party gorkom, participants in the plenum devoted a large place to unsolved problems of the city's socioeconomic development. The chairman of the council for studying the republic's productive forces of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences **S.I. Doroguntsov**, a milling machine operator of the V.I. Lenin Arsenal Plant **I.A. Churb**, the chairman of the city trade union council **L.N. Yakovleva**, the chief of the river port **G.D. Pasichnik**, and others spoke, in particular, about the need to halt new industrial construction in the city and utilize the released capacities and resources for increasing the volumes of construction of housing and cultural and domestic facilities and the importance of paying more attention to expanding the network of therapeutic institutions, especially for children; overcoming the shortage of consumer goods, above all necessities; and increasing social aid to pensioners, disabled people, and families with many children.

"Only significant improvement in the social sphere," emphasized the first secretary of the Minskiy party raykom, **S.A. Vegera**, "can increase the authority of the city party organization among workers."

The solutions to these crucial problems should be a kind of order for the new first secretary of the party gorkom. This idea was expressed in many of the speeches.

The secretary of the party committee of the Kiev footwear association **V.G. Maksimchenko**; director of the memorial complex of the Ukrainian Museum of History of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 **V.A. Kozlov**; the head director of the T.G. Shevchenko State Academic Theater of Opera and Ballet of the UkrSSR, **D.M. Gnatyuk**; and the first secretaries of the following party raykoms: Darnitskiy—**V.A. Kiryan**, Leningrad—**B.V. Soldatenko**, and Moskovskiy—**V.I. Drobotun**; a department head of the Kiev VPSh [higher party school] **L.P. Yuzkov**; general director of the Tochelektropribor Production Association **P.A. Shilo**; and other speakers when describing A.I. Korniyenko noted that his political and business qualities provide justification for nominating him first secretary of the party gorkom. Other candidates were also nominated for this post at the plenum. It was decided by a majority of votes to include on the ballot for secret voting for election of the bureau member and first secretary of the party gorkom the name of A.I. Korniyenko.

A secret vote was taken. By a majority of votes (76 for, 4 against) A.I. Korniyenko was elected a bureau member and first secretary of the Kiev party gorkom.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy spoke next.

I think, he said, that the members of the city party committee and the entire city party aktiv understand the crucial and responsible nature of the current political moment. Indeed, the situation has changed sharply. We are now experiencing what is perhaps the most difficult period in perestroyka—the attitude toward what has been and what is growing more and more critical. Interethnic relations have been aggravated in a number of regions of the country, as have economic problems, which were manifested in the extreme in the miners' strikes.

Problems of an economic and political nature and party tasks in the current stage of perestroyka were discussed candidly and in detail in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the conference of first secretaries of central committees of communist parties of the union republics, kraykoms [kray committees], and obkoms held in the CPSU Central Committee on 18 July of this year. The materials from the conference have been published. They show that the party's responsibility for the fate of perestroyka is immense now as never before. It is our duty to evaluate the state of affairs self-critically and on principle, without dramatizing anything but without idealizing anything either, and then to think through deeply and comprehensively and to implement a concrete plan of action. The tasks of party organizations in the modern stage should be discussed in all party organizations.

It is becoming more and more obvious that the outdated methods and style of the work of many party organizations and committees are not in keeping with the new political situation. The change for the better will depend largely on the extent to which we succeed in finding correct solutions and implementing them well and promptly. We should do this without delay and prepare carefully for the forthcoming reports and elections. We must determine ahead of time the possible candidates for the electoral organs, and it would be expedient to work with several candidates for posts of secretaries.

We have before us elections of both the UkrSSR people's deputies and the local soviets. The struggle will be for more than just mandates: This will be a keen struggle for power. Of course, any extremist appeals and aspirations should immediately be resolutely repulsed. We must take into account the experience in conducting the elections of USSR people's deputies, carefully think out all details, and—this is the main thing—work actively with the masses, diversify the forms of ideological work, and pay more attention to man and his daily needs and concerns.

Everything within our power and capabilities must be done immediately. I have in mind repair of housing, schools, and hospitals, development of cities and villages, construction of roads, and provision of fuel for the people. In a word, everything on which man's social sense depends. Party organizations must literally take up arms against manifestations of bureaucratism, red tape,

and the indifference of pencil pushers in the institutions and organizations where people take their problems. In brief, there are no and can be no trivial matters here.

It is also necessary to emphasize and explain that perestroyka could not begin and could not develop successfully without active party work. And we must act correspondingly. Of course, the work will be complicated and difficult, even very difficult, but there is no other way. Anyone who hopes to solve new problems by old methods is on the wrong path. Society is being renewed and party renewal must stay ahead of this process. We must arrange things in such a way that party influence increases. Otherwise, it cannot be the vanguard of the society and perestroyka will be stifled. The party can win its authority only through the labor of each party member of each local organization and of the entire party. Not just in words but in deeds, the local party organization and the interests of the labor collective should be at the center of all work.

Unfortunately, one must admit that in the city party organization perestroyka is still lagging significantly behind the processes taking place. The party gorkom and its bureau frequently lose the political initiative and act as though they are trying to keep up with events and therefore do not always promptly exert the proper influence on the sociopolitical situation and the state of affairs in the labor collectives. It is not without justification that party workers of rayon and local units are expressing dissatisfaction with the fact that they frequently do not know the positions of the gorkom bureau with respect to critical changes in the political situation in the city.

In this connection I should like to refer to one of the letters that came recently to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. "Now," it says in it, "many party gorkoms and raykoms are confused and are waiting for some instructions from above. Why are many party workers in hibernation? It is time to look around, straighten up their ranks, and take the offensive. Is it difficult? Yes. But the reason we are communists is so that we can overcome difficulty." There is hardly any need to add anything to this.

In the decree of the CPSU Central Committee from the report of the Kiev party gorkom a number of shortcomings were noted in the style and methods of its work. Unfortunately, many of them have not yet been overcome and some, possibly, are getting worse. And it is not surprising that the city party committee has relinquished a number of positions, which could not but have an effect on its authority.

Which problems, in our opinion, are crucial now? First of all, comrades, we must be clearly aware that improvement of the work is possible only on the path of further democratization of life within the party. We must increase the role of all members of the electoral organs and enlist the broadest possible range of communists in the development and adoption of decisions: This is our primary task today.

Further. The city's ideological aktiv is extremely slow in mastering new methods of political activity. It is necessary to cooperate with everyone who is actually in favor of perestroyka. And in a number of oblasts of the republics, for instance Odessa, Zaporozhye, and Ternopol, the party committees have already accumulated experience in working with independent associations. On the one hand, they conduct an active dialogue and strive to direct the social activity of the people in the channel of concrete affairs. On the other hand, they wage battle against manifestations of political extremism and demagogy.

This is doubly important for Kiev: After all, the political situation in the capital exerts a large influence on the course of events throughout the republic. But the city party committee has not been able to arrange differentiated work with the "informals" or to unmask the real position of those who are striving to discredit the party and promoting separatism and national isolation. Party members who in the ethnic question have taken a line contradictory to the interests of the party and the people have not been held accountable. Serious mistakes are being made in the organization of the work of the detachment of many thousands of creative and scientific intelligentsia in the republic's capital.

The decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine concerning expansion of the sphere of use of the Ukrainian language and the development of national-Russian bilingualism is being implemented slowly. Of the 293 schools in the republic capital, 40 teach in Ukrainian. The city has no Ukrainian language tekhnikums or vocational and technical schools. Only one out of four preschool institutions uses the Ukrainian language. This is a problem of selection of the educators, which takes time and personnel. Of course, the situation can be rectified without being too hasty or impetuous, but the main thing is that there should be no coercion.

In our opinion, the effectiveness of party work in the city is essentially reduced by the lack of real solidarity in a number of units, that which has always been a strong suit of our party—party comradeship. Let us be frank: Frequently the secretaries of the party gorkom and raykoms do not have enough closeness and mutual support either. More and more frequently in recent times they have not accepted criticism well and some of them have even had a certain amount of ambition for themselves. At times the relations among the leaders of the party gorkom and the gorispolkom [city executive committee] have gone beyond the framework of party ethics. Apparently, this explains to a considerable degree the fact that the

dividing up of functions between party and soviet organs and the distribution of authority and responsibility between the city and rayons are proceeding with such difficulty.

Comrades!

I shall discuss in part, just say a couple of words about the state of affairs in the economy. We must frankly admit that recently party influence on economic processes has weakened appreciably. And it is perhaps here that one can see especially clearly the contradictory nature of the course of perestroyka.

Judge for yourselves. In 3.5 years the republic has overfulfilled the 5-year assignments for the production of industrial products, positive strides have been made in the reorientation of the economy toward solving social problems, and the production of food products and consumer goods is increasing. At the same time, the results that have been achieved have had an extremely insignificant effect on the satisfaction of the needs and demands of the population. Moreover, various deficits are growing. Hence also the dissatisfaction. The people cannot and will not put up with a situation in which simple daily problems of life are not solved.

This dissatisfaction was manifested in its most critical form in the mines and certain enterprises of the Donbass, the Dnieper area, and the western Ukraine. When making their demands, the majority of which were justified, the miners selected an unacceptable path to achieving them. It caused the country an immense amount of economic harm, the course of economic reform was set back, and the possibility of solving a number of accumulated social problems was placed in jeopardy.

In order to resolve the conflict, a government commission was created under the chairmanship of Comrade Lev Dmitriyevich Ryabev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, which included: V.I. Shcherbakov, chairman of the USSR State Committee of Labor and Social Problems; A.P. Fisun, first deputy minister of the USSR coal industry; G.I. Yanayev, secretary of the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions]; and V.A. Masol, chairman of the UkrSSR Council of Ministers. A commission headed by B.V. Kachura, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, was formed to solve problems within the competence of the republic.

Without going into the details of the conflict, it is quite obvious that in solving economic problems one must start not with categorical demands, but with increased discipline, increased labor productivity, and improvement of the quality of the work. Unpopular as this measure is, it is very important to hold back unjustified wage increases; this will only make things worse, for during last year labor productivity in the republic's industry increased by 5.4 percent while the growth of wages exceeded 8 percent. As a result, it was necessary to pay R1.4 billion in wages in excess of the calculated amount, and these earnings were not covered by goods. And the situation is not changing this year. The situation is no better in Kiev.

There can only be one simple conclusion, Comrades: We must work to increase continuously and at a good rate the national income and the production of everything the people need—that is, that which we can distribute fairly. Here everyone should not only keep their own rights in mind all the time, but they should also not forget about their responsibilities to the society.

In conclusion, said V.V. Shcherbitskiy, I think it necessary to emphasize that the Central Committee cannot conceive of successful activity on the party of the Communist Party of the Ukraine without the active participation and exemplary arrangement of affairs of the Kiev city party organization.

The party gorkom and the ispolkom of the city soviet can and should work more rapidly and better in order to appreciably improve the state of affairs and eliminate the people's dissatisfaction with the fact that many urgent problems of daily life are being resolved unsatisfactorily.

The Central Committee, the gorkom, and the party raykoms should undoubtedly stand closer to one another and join forces more tightly in carrying out the historic tasks set by the party and life itself.

B.V. Soldatenko, first secretary of the Leningradskiy party raykom, **L.G. Kosakovskiy**, first secretary of the Pecherskiy party raykom, and **K.M. Sytnik**, director of the Institute of Botany of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences, made a number of remarks and suggestions for strengthening ties between the Kiev party gorkom and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, increasing aid to the city from republic organs, and improving the orientation of party organizations toward crucial problems of party political work.

N.F. Strela, head of the division for party organizational and personnel work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, participated in the work of the plenum.

Moldavian Foreign Minister Explains Duties

LD1808220689 Moscow TASS in English 1950 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Kishinev August 18 TASS—"Defense and foreign policy are the two spheres in which the union republics consciously and voluntarily limited their own sovereignty and delegated a considerable part of their prerogatives to the union." Moldavian Foreign Minister Pyotr Komendant told TASS correspondent Aleksandr Takii in connection with the publication of the platform of the CPSU "The Nationalities Policy of the Party in Present-Day Conditions"

"However, to limit does not mean to give up. This is why we welcome the CPSU platform's provision which stipulates that the republics retain such an inalienable feature of sovereignty as the right to maintain relations with foreign countries and international organisations", the minister said.

"The republics should more actively participate in the Soviet Union's interstate contacts. In recent years an increasingly wide range of matters concerning the republics' foreign relations have been tackled at local level. This is connected with the reorganisation of foreign economic relations and the introdution of new forms of cooperation and cultural exchanges with foreign countries."

The minister explained that there were joint ventures in Moldavia: For the manufacture of shoes, with the firms of Bulgaria, Hungary, and the Federal Republic of Germany, for the manufacture of fashionable clothes, with the Brazilian Starup, and for the production of foundry equipment with the Italian "Main Group".

About twenty more enterprises have signed protocols of intent with foreign partners to pool efforts in most diverse fields. Moldavia's cooperation with neighbours—Bulgaria and Romania—also grows stronger.

The Moldavian foreign minister believes in this connection that responsibility for the study of areas and content of cooperation and for effective assistance in the development of useful initiatives increasingly devolves upon the ministry.

"I am confident that republican ministries of foreign affairs can and must issue statements, notes and memoranda on topical issues, particularly in cases when international developments directly affect the interests of this or that republic," the minister said.

"The Moldavian Foreign Ministry, for example, could also take upon itself the conclusion of agreements with contiguous countries on matters concerning direct economic and cultural cooperation, the utilisation of border waters and facilities, and the conservation of nature. So far, such agreements are concluded on behalf of the USSR and implemented by the republic."

Belorussian Government Opens Press Center

PM0208183989 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 9 Jul 89 p 3

[BELTA report: "Aspects of Glasnost"]

[Text] The first press conference for journalists has been held in an atmosphere of glasnost at the Belorussian Communist Party Minsk Oblast Party Committee House of Political Enlightenment. The republic's press center, whose work will be managed by the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers Information Department, opened here 7 July.

Officials from the republic's State Planning Committee, ministries, and departments answered journalists' questions on the topic of "The Republic and the Union: Aspects of Mutual Relations." A keen debate unfolded around problems linked with regional economic accountability. What is the future for industry, agriculture, trade, and other sectors of the economy under conditions of improving interrepublican ties and what will Belorussia gain on escaping from the diktat of union departments? Exhaustive answers could not be heard to all these questions. Relations between the union and the regions under conditions of economic reform are a dynamic process.

Similar meetings will now take place regularly. The press center will open its doors hospitably to periodical press employees twice a month.

Azerbaijan Party Adopts Decision on CPSU Draft

NC2108102689 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0340 GMT 19 Aug 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has adopted a decision on the CPSU Central Committee draft on the basic principles of the party's contemporary national policy. A decision was adopted to have the draft debated in the party organizations and work collectives together with the representatives of the society, scientific and creative intellectuals, experts working in the field of interethnic problems, and ideological aktivs.

Nagorno-Karabakh Committee Set Up in Azerbaijan

NC1908211989 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] A meeting has been held to establish the Committee for Assisting Nagorno-Karabakh [karabaga yardim komitesi] in compliance with the demands put forward in the meeting held by the republic's intellectuals and representatives of the residents of Baku for solidarity with Azerbaijanis in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The meeting discussed the committee's rules, regulations, and program and examined the question of organization.

It was noted that the incidents which occur around Nagorno-Karabakh are facts directed against Azerbaijan's sovereignty. The serious problems which exist in our ideological work and economic and cultural life are coming to light more strikingly as a result of the extraordinary situation. The worsening developments are creating [words indistinct] image of the Azerbaijani people during the reconstruction era. They create obstacles to the settlement of serious problems which are related to the national existence and future of the people. They have caused unnecessary bloodshed and dealt blows to the republic's economy.

The committee's activities will not be limited to the Nagorno-Karabakh region alone. The committee will also mobilize the republic's forces and resources to help obstruct extremist measures that have been taken against the republic's rayons, which border Armenia, and against the Nakhichevan Autonomous Oblast in the past and that may be taken against them in the future. The Committee for Assisting Nagorno-Karabakh, which is part of the [words indistinct] movement, will focus attention on strengthening (?cooperation) and protecting our national sovereignty. The committee has the right to intervene in all matters related to Nagorno-Karabakh. In view of this, it will be appropriate if all those who wish to participate in the movement to assist Nagorno-Karabakh do so through the committee.

The following telephone number should be dialed for any kind of information: 39 72 00. We repeat, 39 72 00.

The time has come to retrieve the positions we have lost as a result of objective and subjective reasons and to resort to (?political) measures.

Nagorno-Karabakh is an inseparable part of Azerbaijan. The settlement of its political, economic, and cultural problems is within the jurisdiction of Azerbaijan. The legal rights of the republic's supreme organs and constitutional rights must be used more effectively, in due time, and resolutely to resolve all the problems.

The committee's Council of Elders and working group were elected at the end of the meeting. The committee leadership was assigned to the Council of Elders.

New Azerbaijan State Security Chairman Appointed
NC2108102389 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0340 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] A decree issued by the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed V. Ali Esat Oglu Guseynov as chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Committee for State Security.

The decree also relieved Comrade Karulovsky of his post as chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Committee for State Security on the grounds that he has been appointed to another post.

Rail Service Disrupted in Transcaucasus
18290258a Moscow GUDOK in Russian 15 Aug 89 p 1

[Report on interview with Militia Colonel R. Kuliyev, chief of the Azerbaijan Administration of Internal Affairs for Transportation, by GUDOK correspondent V. Dimitrov: "Why Was the Traffic Stopped"; date, place of interview not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Since the end of last year, the Azerbaijan railroad has been working with much tension—the stream of trains en route to Armenia with the freight necessary for recovering from the earthquake has grown. Recently, the situation has deteriorated for different reasons. On the section crossing Armenia, raiders have stopped the traffic twice.

Our correspondent has met with Militia Colonel R. Kuliyev, chief of the Azerbaijan Administration of Internal Affairs for Transportation, and has asked him to respond to questions entailed by the situation which has emerged.

[Dimitrov] Ragim Ismailovich, what were the reasons for the disruption of train traffic on the section of the Azerbaijan Railroad which crosses Armenia?

[Kuliyev] Several criminal acts were committed in this section of the adjacent republic. The trains and engines were stoned, the tracks were barricaded, and damage was inflicted on the tracks by an explosive device. This caused a reciprocal response by the population of the Mindzhevan station and the Nakhichevan ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] under whose pressure the traffic was stopped completely twice within several days. Engine crews were apprehensive to embark on their runs due to a real threat to their lives and those of passengers. They embarked on work only after measures were taken in order to ensure the safety of traffic.

[Dimitrov] What were the motives of participants in unlawful actions?

[Kuliyev] Together with E. Shaginyan, chief of the Armenian Administration of Internal Affairs for Transportation, we visited the sites of emergencies, talked to the populace, met with the secretaries of party raykoms [rayon committees] of Degrinskiy Rayon of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], Ilyichevskiy and Ordubadskiy Rayons of Azerbaijan, and visited the collectives of railroad workers. The conclusion was unambiguous: Local party and soviet organs are not solving the problems of concern to the populace. The organizers of unlawful actions skillfully exploit this, and deliberately send raiders to railroad installations. Allegedly, disrupting railroad operations will attract the attention of leaders to the demands of the populace.

[Dimitrov] What are the demands?

[Kuliyev] They mainly involve social issues and those of communal services. However, there are demands of a different nature. For example, the population of Megrinskiy Rayon demands that a highway in the area of the Azerbaijani city of Lachin be opened. As our republic press reported, detonators for explosive devices were found during the inspection of a convoy of trucks with construction materials from Armenia for Nagorno-Karabakh. This brought about an incident. One of the drivers damaged an electric line with a mobile crane, and the rayon seat was left without power.

In turn, the population of Ilyichevskiy Rayon made the demand to open the highway to the territory of Armenia, to the Azerbaijani village of Kerki.

Together with our colleagues from Armenia, we explain the seriousness of the complications which are brought about by disrupting the work of the railroad not only in Armenia and Azerbaijan, but also on other main lines of the country. Unfortunately, such work, specific resolution of a number of issues, is lacking in [the activities of] the leadership of rayons and republics.

[Dimitrov] Perhaps, the issues of traffic security will not be resolved by reflections and persuasion alone?

[Kuliyev] We posted guards at the most significant installations. Unfortunately, our own resources are definitely not enough. Perhaps, this is the explanation for the shortcomings which we sometimes allow to occur. To be sure, comrades from the union and republic MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] are drafted for support. Please, meet Major V. Rizanov from the Baykal-Amur Administration of Internal Affairs for Transportation. He headed the support group at the hottest spot—at Karchivan station, in the territory of Armenia.

We also became convinced that, having failed to secure a resolution of their issues, the participants in unlawful acts opted for the railroad in order to attract attention. I visited the village soviet in Megrinskiy Rayon which is the nearest to the station, and emphasized the responsibility which devolves on its employees. Following this, they met with the people and helped us in establishing order. This is good; however, this was their immediate duty, while our duty is to help them.

Incidentally, employees of the territorial internal affairs organs of both republics should also operate more vigorously.

[Dimitrov] The final question. Ragim Ismailovich, will the organizers of the emergencies which have occurred be punished?

[Kuliyev] Definitely. An investigative group set up by the USSR MVD and the Main Administration of Transportation Militia of the country together with the organs of administrations of internal affairs for transportation of Armenia and Azerbaijan are now conducting an investigation of the circumstances of these events. It is premature to talk about results at this point. However, it is beyond a doubt that the ringleaders will receive the punishment due.

For our part, we should draw a conclusion from these emergency situations: At present, the main point is to prevent emergency situations. We should conduct very serious, well-conceived preventive work. It should be carried out by both the law enforcement organs and, first of all, local party and soviet organs.

When the issue was being typeset, GUDOK correspondent V. Dimitrov reported:

As was already reported, the track was recently damaged by an explosive device on the section of the Azerbaijan Railroad crossing the territory of Armenia. On the night of 12-13 August, an explosion sounded at another point of the main line, in the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, on approaches to the station of Askeran. Persons unknown had placed an explosive device on a railroad bridge here.

The explosion shifted the span structure, the pillar segment was partially damaged. There was no loss of life.

Traffic across the bridge at limited speeds was restored 13 hours later.

Transcaucasus Rail Workers Appeal for Calm

18290258b Moscow GUDOK in Russian 15 Aug 89 p 1

["Open Letter by Participants of the Working Meeting of the Collective of Rostov Engine Depot to the Railroad Workers and All Toilers of Transcaucacus Republics"]

[Text] Dear comrades, colleagues, brothers!

The interethnic problem is one of the most acute and painful problems in our country at present. We were deluded for a long time by appealing slogans, failing to grasp the heart of complex issues. The time has come to resolve them. However, resolving them means thinking, seeking counsel, exercising self-control, and not allowing ourselves to be provoked.

North Caucasus is a multiethnic land. The experience of our entire history teaches us that violent opposition by peoples has not brought peace but only woes, discord, and losses. All of us have suffered enough in the past, and we all want changes for the better as soon as possible.

The striving of Armenians, Abkhazians, Azeris, and Georgians to resolve their ethnic issues are close and understandable for us. There is something else we fail to understand: Why do such noble objectives have to be achieved by cruel, violent means. National self-assertion is more easily accomplished by a wise word, mutual understanding, and mutual respect among brotherly and neighborly peoples.

Unfortunately, other ways have been opted for. Protracted strikes, blocking transportation lines all the way to acts of sabotage on railroad lines, stoppage of the movement of loaded trains, fights, murders, arson.... We understand that these extreme, provocative measures have nothing to do with any one people. Hooligans are hooligans everywhere. We appeal to you for militancy, insight, and understanding who your friends and your enemies are.

Since November of last year, events in the Transcaucasian republics have followed virtually one after the other. We receive them with pain, and we perceive their far-reaching consequences which someone has maliciously foreseen.

Even the failure to unload cars on time at the stations of the Transcaucasian and Azerbaijan Railroads upsets the rhythm of train traffic on our main line, disrupts regular passenger and freight movement between the cities and villages of Transcaucasia and other oblasts and republics of the country.

Eight days of the obstruction of tracks in Sukhumi, when not even one train went through the contact point, disrupted passenger traffic. There were almost 150 abandoned trains en route to Sukhumi, Tbilisi, Yerevan, and Leninakan. The peoples of the Caucasus, with a tradition of hospitality dating back centuries, did not accept children to the pioneer camps and workers of the country to the sanatoriums. We are sure that the population of the Transcaucasian republics needs no such reputation.

The train traffic through Sukhumi was resumed, but the line between Azerbaijan and Armenia immediately turned out to be cut off. There was another week without mutual understanding, and dozens of abandoned trains en route to Baku almost all the way to Rostov.

Comrades, brothers! Stop the extremists. Heed the voice of reason of the people of elder generations who know the true value of the friendship of people and peoples. We are confident that we will arrive at an accord and understanding. However, now is such a time that every day, every hour is valuable. Harvesting is at its peak. The country expects grapes and citrus fruit from you, and grain and timber are shipped to you.... The trains abandoned at our stations carry grain and machinery, construction materials and medication for Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia.

We appeal to the Supreme Soviets of union and autonomous republics of Transcaucasia: Find an opportunity to solve the pent-up problems immediately.

We assure you of our sincere feelings of solidarity and fraternal support. We appeal to you for honest work benefiting all peoples of our multinational country. We have been and will be stronger together.

On behalf of the meeting: Kh. Shatadze—fitter; A. Sadykov, assistant engineer; E. Petrosyan, V. Galker, G. Kosenko—engineers; A. Kuzmin—foreman.

Program To Develop Georgian Language Endorsed
LD1908092889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] A report from Tbilisi says that a state program for the development of the Georgian language has been officially endorsed. Chitanava, chairman of the republican Council of Ministers, told journalists its implementation will provide for the constitutional functioning of the Georgian language in all establishments and organizations as the state language of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], and in the Abkhazian Autonomous SSR as one of the state languages on an equal par with the Abkhazian and Russian languages. However, this does not indicate any infringement of the linguistic interests of other peoples living in Georgia, and the program at the same time provides for the future development of the languages of those peoples who have lived side-by-side with the Georgian people for thousands of years.

Tajikistan Curfew Lifted on Kirghiz Border
LD1908104389 Moscow TASS in English 1030 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Dushanbe August 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva:

An inter-ethnic conflict between peasants of border area of Tajikistan and Kirghiziya, the Soviet Central Asian republics, has been solved owing to goodwill and negotiations. Curfew on the Tajik part of the territory was lifted today. The curfew was imposed by a decree of the Tajik Supreme Soviet following an acute July 14 border conflict.

The clash was triggered off by the long discontent of peasants of the border areas of Tajikistan and Kirghiziya over the uncertainty of their rights to the ploughland and the inter-republican irrigation canal. In the first years of Soviet Government the border between the neighbouring republics was not clearly marked. Initially, the people there even took pride in that example of good-neighbourly relations. A growth in the population on both sides of the border led to disputes. Land plots per peasant family dwindled, peasants lacked water for irrigation of land. But the local authorities ignored the state of affairs and then spontaneous actions broke out, with casualties on both sides.

It did not take long for reason to triumph, both on the part of the Tajik and the Kirghiz peasants. A general rural meeting, convened by leaders of the two republics, who arrived here, unanimously passed the decision to have a peace solution of the conflict. A Tajik-Kirghiz commission, which included elders of frontier kishlaks [villages], started verifying the frontier in the disputable area. The long irrigation canal, with many stones thrown into it during the strife, was cleared through the joint efforts. It is now irrigating Tajik and Kirghiz agricultural cooperative lands. Cargo and passenger transport traffic on the inter-republican highway resumed.

There are still some outstanding questions linked with final delineation of the border and the peasants, by agreement of both sides, decided to approach the USSR Supreme Soviet, which is to meet for its session late in September, for assistance.

Further on Border Situation

LD1908175889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 19 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In connection with a certain stabilization of the situation in the border areas of Tajikistan and Kirghiziya, and taking into account the wishes of the local population, a decree of the presidium of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet has today lifted the curfew on the territory of the village soviet of Surkh. The curfew has been reduced to 6 hours on the territory of two other rural soviets—Chorku and Vorukh.

The cause of the conflict between representatives of the Tajik and Kirgiz population was a longstanding dispute over the right to use land and water in a number of border areas, which a month ago led to a bloody clash. Now, thanks to the urgent intervention of the leaders of the two republics and the active involvement of the population themselves in seeking out mutually acceptable solutions to restore justice, the situation has returned to normal.

Tajik Environmentalists Protest Rogun Dam

LD1908222189 Moscow TASS in English 2109 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Rogun August 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Galina Gridnyeva:

The Tajik Association for Culture and Ecology has staged a protest in the Tajik town of Rogun. Its members protest against the ongoing construction of the high-dam Rogun hydropower station in the Pamir Mountains.

The Tajik environmentalists are afraid that the station's large storage lake will flood many historical and architectural monuments and thousands of hectares of cultivated farmland. They believe that the height of the station's dam should be reduced by half and favour the construction of small hydropower stations with small water reservoirs in the Pamir Mountains.

The association has decided to send a memorandum, already signed by thousands of local residents, to the forthcoming autumn session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Kirghiz Official Discusses Ethnic Problems

LD1808032489 Moscow TASS in English 2150 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Frunze, Kirghiziya, August 18 TASS—By TASS correspondent Boris Mainayev:

The Soviet Central Asian republic of Kirghiziya has begun restructuring its ethnic policy, although this can take much effort and time, prorector of Kirghizian State University Boris Kubayev told TASS.

He said that a draft law on amendments to the Kirghiz Constitution, published in local newspapers a few days ago, proposes holding elections to all bodies of power in the republic on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

The draft proposes no ethnic, educational or other requirements.

Speaking about the Karachai people, deported en masse from their homeland in the Caucasus to Kirghiziya by Stalin, Kubayev, who is a Karachai, said that local residents—Kirghizians, Russians and Uzbeks—had helped deportees in the time of trouble.

When Karachais were allowed to return to the Caucasus in 1956, many decided to stay in Central Asia. However, children in many families began to forget their native language and customs. Now, the prorector said, the situation is changing.

This regards almost all of more than 80 ethnic groups in Kirghiziya. The republic's ethnic policy is changing. There have appeared schools with the teaching in Uzbek, German, Uighur, Tajik and other languages.

A German club has opened in the republican capital, Frunze, while the national university has opened a Dunkan-language faculty.

Kirghiz radio and television now broadcast programs in languages of ethnic groups living in the republic.

Kazakhstan Party Central Committee Meets

LD1908153489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Membership of the party now entails, above all, the readiness of Communists to submit to the harsh and just demands of the people. Party people should reinforce their rights as leaders with specific, lively deeds. This was spoken about in the speeches of those participating in the 2-day meeting of the secretaries of the party city and rayon committees of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan which finished its work today [19 August]. The CPSU draft platform on the national policies of the party under contemporary conditions was discussed. Comrade Nazarbayev, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, spoke at the meeting.

Kazakh Trade Union Council Publishes Paper

LD1908092289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Summary] The Kazakh trade unions council has published its own periodical publication. The first number of the RABOCHIY KONTROL [WORKERS' INSPECTION] newspaper has been published. In it will be published reports about the life of the republican trade unions organizations and various other reports. Articles

touching on acute problems of workers from various spheres and industries will take up considerable room in the newspaper. The first edition carries a page under a joint heading the Karaganda Warning, which provides an analysis of a miners' strike. The column called Hot Points of Social Tension speaks about the causes and lessons from the well-known events in Novyy Uzen. The paper will carry a permanent column from a legal expert.

Uzbek Party Central Committee Plenum Meets

LD2008063789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1950 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] A plenum of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee has taken place in Tashkent. Those taking part discussed the reports of the Andizhan and Khorezm Oblast party committees on their work in ensuring the development of individual farms and housing construction in rural areas.

The plenum made it incumbent on the party, soviet, and economic bodies of the republic to embark on practical implementation of the measures sketched out by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and government of the republic to raise the well-being of the rural population.

New Kashka-Darya Oblast Committee Chief Elected

LD2707195689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1754 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] A plenum of the Kashka-Darya Oblast Communist Party Committee [obkom] of Uzbekistan has considered the issue of organization. It has released Comrade Karimov from the duties of the first secretary of the oblast party committee in connection with his being elected first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee. Comrade Atadzhanov has been elected first secretary of the Kashka-Darya Oblast party committee. He used to work as a deputy chairman of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers. Taking part in the plenary proceedings was Karimov, the first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee.

New Karakalpak Oblast Committee Chief Elected

PM2707143789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[Correspondent A. Kaipbergenov report: "Plenum Held"]

[Text] Nukus, 26 Jul—A plenum of the Karakalpak Oblast Party Committee [obkom] was held, which examined an organizational question.

Pursuant to the election of People's Deputy K.S. Salykov as chairman of the Committee for Ecology and Rational Utilization of Natural Resources at the USSR Supreme Soviet's first session, he was released from his duties as obkom first secretary.

The plenum elected S.D. Niyetullayev, hitherto head of the autonomous republic's Council of Ministers, first secretary of Karakalpak party obkom.

I.A. Karimov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the plenum.

Turkmen Central Committee Discusses Agriculture

PM2008143989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Plenum Held"]

[Text] Ashkhabad, 18 Aug—A plenum of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee was held today to discuss the question "On the Tasks of the Republic's Party, Soviet, and Economic Organs for the Implementation of the Party's Agrarian Policy in the Light of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum Decisions."

It was noted at the plenum that despite the positive trends that have recently emerged in the agro-industrial complex, there is still no radical breakthrough in the utilization of its natural and economic potential.

Leaders of party committees and of all the ministries and departments concerned will be held personally responsible for the attainment of set targets.

Turkmen, Uzbek Opium Poppy Plantations Discovered

LD2008131889 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] Soviet militia have discovered a large poppy plantation in the Karakum desert in Turkmenia. It had 50,000 plants, a real factory of narcotics. The operation in Turkmenia, notorious for drug abuse in the Soviet Union, destroyed 111 clandestine plantations of opium popies and Indian hemp. The interregional and antidrug squad set up in that republic also discovered a huge plantation in the neighboring Uzbekistan, where the local mafia had started taking in a crop of 14 million ripe poppy heads. A total of 80 kg of narcotic plants has been seized this year.

New Voting System Planned for Supreme Soviet

LD1808203889 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 18 (TASS)—An electronic system is being installed in the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin to facilitate procedure. It will be put into operation in time for the parliament's second session scheduled to begin on September 25.

During the First Congress of People's Deputies and the first session of the country's Supreme Soviet, criticism was repeatedly heard of considerable waste of time and

confusion resulting from the use of outdated techniques to deal with such matters of procedure as taking and counting votes and arranging lists of speakers.

The electronic system, the newspaper IZVESTIYA writes, is endowed with a capacity much superior to that of a mere counting machine. It can perform four procedural operations in an automatic mode—registering deputies, arranging speaker lists, registering and summing up votes, and feeding in questions, proposals and corrections. Finally, the system will store and display, in an operational mode, references and statistical information on proceedings.

The system permits taking vote in three modes—open, secret or by name. At joint session of the Supreme Soviet, it will ensure counting votes separately for each chamber. In the chambers, video display units will be installed capable of presenting procedural information on variable screens. Before voting, precise numbers required to pass a motion will appear on two large indicator boards. The computer will then compare the number of votes in favour or against a point with the quorum and display both the numerical results and one of the two statements: "motion passed" or "motion turned down".

To vote, the deputies will be required to push one of the three buttons on their desk—for, against or abstained.

In a secret ballot, the by-name processor will be turned off, in a by-name vote, the procedure will be reversed, in which case names will be listed under four headings: For, against, abstained and did not vote.

Experts, presently installing the system, believe its capacity is immense. It can operate in dozens, indeed, hundreds of modes, if need arises. Another system of this kind will be installed in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses to service congresses of people's deputies.

The newspaper points out that practically all the equipment that is now being installed in the Kremlin, was made in the Soviet Union. Its installation is the responsibility of the Leningrad Agroremmonitor Enterprise.

Primakov Chairs Commission Examining Privileges

PM0208153989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Commissions' Sitting"]

[Text] The Commission for Examination of Privileges Enjoyed by Certain Categories of Citizens, which was set up by the USSR Supreme Soviet, held its organizational sitting in the Kremlin 28 July. The sitting was chaired by Commission Chairman Ye.M. Primakov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union.

The speakers noted the social urgency and topicality of the tasks whose solution they have to tackle. Unanimous desire was expressed to elaborate as swiftly as possible proposals to be submitted for ratification by the USSR Supreme Soviet at the very start of its fall session. In this context, the commission decided to approach the USSR Council of Ministers with a proposal to speed up the analysis of the prevailing system of benefits and privileges which, as it is well known, the USSR Congress of People's Deputies instructed the Council of Ministers to prepare by year's end.

CPSU Journal Publishes Central Committee's Work

LD1808035189 Moscow TASS in English 1839 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 17 TASS—The 18th issue of the journal NEWS from the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee reports the work of the Central Committee in July 1989, carries a Politbureau resolution "on the work of party organisations for the strengthening of their ranks and the renewal of the party's membership in conditions of the deepening of perestroyka and the political reform", as well as other resolutions.

The journal carries under the new heading "Verbatim Reports, Conversation Records and Speeches" a conversation Mikhail Gorbachev had on July 11 with workers of the Izhorskiy Zavod production amalgamation of Leningrad.

A report of the Central Committee Commission on World Politics analyses the experience of cooperation with foreign countries acquired in the process of the restructuring of foreign economic relations.

The journal carries documents of the Politbureau commission on the additional study of materials connected with repressions of the 30s, 40s and early 50s which deal with the so-called "Anti-Soviet United Trotskiy-Zinoviev bloc", as well as confidential letters of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) dating January 18, 1935, and July 29, 1936.

Materials published under the heading "Soviet Communist Party's International Relations" deal with Soviet-Yugoslav consultations on inter-ethnic relations. A record of talks, meetings and conversations held in July is also published under this heading. The journal carries short biographies of Grigorios Faracos, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, and Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the central committee of the Polish United Workers' Party.

A story about the work of the 8th congress of the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) features prominently among archive materials published in the journal. Developments preceding the collectivsation are reflected in two letters of communists sent to politbureau members and Stalin in 1927.

Bank Account Set Up To Aid Chernobyl Cleanup

LD2108090489 Moscow TASS in English 0724 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Minsk August 21 TASS—The first donations have come in to a new account in aid of Chernobyl clean-up operations at the Belorussian republican branch of the USSR Bank for Housing and Social Needs.

Over the three years that have passed since the breakdown at the Chernobyl nuclear power station, decontamination efforts have failed to eliminate the effects of radiation which affected one-third of the republic's territory and one-fifth of its agricultural lands.

More than 100,000 people are yet to be relocated. This will require more than ten billion roubles, which is almost equal to Belorussia's annual budget.

"If clean-up operations are carried out by the republic on its own, Belorussia's economic and social development will grind to a halt for several years," said Vladimir Yevtukh, chairman of the Republican Commission for clean-up operations and first deputy chairman of the Belorussian Council of Ministers.

"We hope that losses will be partially compensated by those who are guilty of inflicting them. But the necessary funds will not be collected even if all departments guilty of the breakdown pay all the damages. Therefore we also count on help from people of goodwill".

The Belorussians hope that help will also come from abroad. Prominent scientists, including Leonid Ilyin, director of the Radiation Medicine Institute of the USSR Healthy Ministry, are convinced that the effect of radioactive iodine on the thyroid glands of children on the days immediately following the accident will lead to so-called thyroid node vegetations during 7-8 years after the accident. These are benign tumours, but one cannot rule out the development of malignant ones.

High-precision diagnostic equipment, which is not manufactured in the Soviet Union, is necessary to ensure that any malignancy is detected and treted at an early stage.

Foreign currency is needed to buy such equipment, to fit out the radiation medicine institute of the Belorussian Health Ministry, and to purchase scarce medicines.

The possibility of help from people in other countries and from Soviet people who work abroad has led to the opening of foreign currency account No 000700801 at the Belorussian republican branch of the Foreign Economic Bank of the USSR.

Paper Profiles New Council of Ministers

PM0208091189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Group Portrait of Government"]

[Text] A special issue of PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK (No 14-15) entirely devoted to the country's new government has been published. In addition to detailed information on each of the 60 Cabinet members and brief but substantive interviews giving an idea of the professional and personal qualities of the representatives of supreme executive power, the PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK also gives several general profiles of members of the 1989 Council of Ministers. It contains 7 academicians or corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences and 11 doctors of science. The average age is 56, while 5 members are still under 50. This is a really new government. There are only 10 people in leadership posts remaining from the previous government formed in 1984.

The newspaper also reports vacant Cabinet posts: two deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, five ministers, three USSR state committee chairmen, and the chairman of the USSR State Bank.

The information is detailed enough and expansive for a first acquaintance. Let us hope that with the aid of the press, including the PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK, we will henceforth know at least as much about our state figures as we do about foreign ones.

Ryzhkov, Zaykov Visit Threatened Nature Reserve

PM0108085989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Helping 'Losinyy Ostrov'"]

[Text] The first mention of the unique "Losinyy Ostrov" nature complex on the border of the capital and Moscow Oblast was recorded almost six centuries ago. The unique world of flora and fauna and its extensive tracts of forest not only make it essentially the "lungs" of the millions-strong city, but also attract hundreds of thousands of residents and guests of Moscow on their days off. By decision of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee, and the Moscow Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, a national park has been created here and major work done to restore nature and preserve it from fire and poaching. Work has started to create a "Losinyy Ostrov" integrated recreation system.

However, as the public is rightly pointing out, the development and ratification of the detailed park plan and its status have been impermissibly delayed. Many USSR people's deputies, scientists, ecological groups, and the press have been expressing serious concern about this.

Comrades N.I. Ryzhkov and L.N. Zaykov visited the state national park 29 July to familiarize themselves with the state of affairs on the spot and with the development of the specific program. During their visit they had meetings with the leaders of ministries and departments that have buildings in the area, with specialists, and with Muscovites. It was noted that the national park regulations continue to be broken and there continue to be unsuitable installations and ecologically harmful enterprises within the protected zone. New residential areas are encroaching on the park's territory and violating its natural balance. All this is the result of the mismanagement and complacency of certain leaders and their inability to find sensible compromises between state, group, and personal interests.

It was stressed that a comprehensive program is needed to revive this pearl of the Moscow area. During the trip a number of specific decisions were made. Other questions will require in-depth analysis and additional expert study, and will be resolved by soviet organs together with scientists and Muscovites. It is necessary to resolutely abandon narrowly departmental approaches, remove all enterprises from the protected area in the very near future, and reexamine the question of the purposefulness of building a number of national economic installations in the vicinity. The expansion of neighboring cities in the direction of the park should be restricted.

These measures should be combined with the comprehensive development of the park itself: the strengthening of its material and technical base, the enhancement of the effectiveness of protection services, and the creation in the area of ethnographic museum villages and other features that will guarantee visitors peace, shelter, and involvement in the beauty of nature and their own history and culture.

Taking part in the examination of these issues were V.F. Konovalov, N.A. Pugin, and Yu.K. Semenov, USSR ministers; A.A. Babenko, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; and party, soviet, and economic leaders from the capital and Moscow Oblast.

'National Ecological Strategy' Proposed

18300766 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 5 Aug 89 p 4

[Article by Professor Viktor Ivanovich Akovetskiy, member of the collegium of the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection, chief of the Main Administration of Scientific-Technical Progress and Ecological Norms, and doctor of technical sciences: "Before It Is Too Late"; first four paragraphs are SOVETSKAYA KULTURA introduction]

[Text] The issues of protecting and restoring the natural environment have now become world concern number one. No matter how well-to-do Sweden or, say, Denmark seem to be from the point of view of economics or social harmony, "acid rains" fall out on them, and the wind blows radioactive clouds into their sky just as in restless Poland.

A majority of countries have national ecological programs for implementing which tremendous funds are spent; these funds are commensurate with the national budgets. Finally, we have also begun to face the issues of ecology. The arrival in the family of our central offices of one more specialized child, the Goskompriroda [State Committee for Environmental Protection], one and a half years ago testifies to this. The resolution of the government on setting up the new committee suggested that it would be exactly the one to handle environmental protection as its main and only pursuit, that is, it would develop a unified scientific-technical policy of environmental protection and the use of nature and would implement it.

Professor Viktor Ivanovich Akovetskiy, a member of the collegium of the USSR Goskompriroda, chief of the Main Administration of Scientific-Technical Progress and Ecological Norms, doctor of technical sciences, familiarizes our readers with his draft of the national environmental protection strategy in the USSR.

In a letter to the editor, this concept was supported by USSR people's deputies, members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Tulepbergen Kaipbergenov, Mumin Kanoatov, Iskhak Mashbashev, Lev Kuznetsov, and Olzhas Suleymenov.

The very fact of setting up the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection says that the government has understood: The situation with nature in our country could not be worse. This decision was, at a minimum, 10 years late. Moreover, the Goskompriroda charter still has not been worked out. Finally, the current—ministerial—status of the state committee does not make it possible for it to effectively block the destruction of nature which is proceeding under the banner of ministries, despite perestroyka, glasnost, and the concern of the public.

However, even this is not the focal problem. The country still does not have a national ecological strategy, or, in other terms, an environmental protection strategy. The ultimate goal of this strategy is to create a society with a high standard of ecological awareness.

...It is impossible to return nature to the condition in which it was 50 to 100 years ago. An ecological society is not a patriarchal idyll, but a transition to the noosphere, a spiritually organized symbiosis of the human race and the environment on the basis of a synthesis of very high technology and culture.

A number of stages have to be distinguished along the way to these goals.

The strategic or long-range stage. It embraces a set of measures as a result of which the country will switch to a new generation of ecologically clean technologies completely or almost completely. This will require 25 to 30 years. Comprehensive work on restoring forests, fields, rivers, lands, and lakes in the entire territory of the country will be expanded successfully within the same period of time, and no shorter period.... No fewer than 3 decades will be needed in order to disperse large industrial conurbations of the type of Kemerovo, Zaporozhye, and South Urals. At issue is eliminating the consequences of "threading" of successive ecological loads on the same pivot of industrial infrastructure. This tradition which is characteristic of our economy has already created areas of ecological disasters.

These problems (for example, the Kuzbass) are definitely unsolvable within the framework of so-called regional economical accountabilities and call for nationwide programs of ecological restoration, which is also a moral duty for the country as a whole.

The operative stage, or the medium-urgency stage. It is planned for 5 to 10 years. During this period of time, it is quite possible to arrest the growth of anthropogenic—that is, caused by humans—destruction of nature. To this end, it would suffice to ensure that the existing technologies are strictly complied with, that is, all kinds of discharges are reduced, the quality of waste treatment is improved, and energy resource and material conservation is put in order.

Annually, our industry and transportation release into the air alone over 100 million tonnes of all kinds of harmful substances. This means almost a kilogram per every "living soul" a year. This statistic may be reduced at least by a factor of 1.5 without replacing the existing technologies with new ones, but by merely making the enterprises comply with everything that is envisaged by the GOSTs [State Standards].

For a long time now, it has been impossible to sell even one car in Western Europe unless it is equipped with electronic ignition and catalytic converters. If we were successful in installing similar equipment at least on one-half of our pool of cars, annual discharges into the atmosphere would drop by 20 million tonnes. Here is an example for you—children living in houses the windows of which overlook the Sadovoye Koltso in Moscow get sick 6 to 8 times more often than other children of the same age.

On the whole, the losses of the country due to the pollution of the environment are estimated to be between R55 and R60 billion a year.

Finally, there is the stage of most urgent endeavors, the program for tomorrow. Programs which have to be carried out fast are the most difficult to conceive. Still, I believe that it is possible as soon as within a year or, at the most, 3 years, to redistribute the money and cadres of the Goskompriroda and ecological services in other ministries. In the absence of this, effective ecological control will not be organized; the actual danger to man and the biosphere in individual regions will not be determined; ecological norms for all kinds of discharges will not be set, and, which is most important, a unified law on the protection of the natural environment, continuing to work without which makes no sense, will not be finally developed.

The national strategy of environmental protection in the USSR is based on a number of fundamental principles.

Let us consider them. The principle of mutual dependence and mutual linkage of ecological conditions in regions and in the country as a whole is the first principle.

...Thus far, it has somehow been disregarded that ecology does not have borders. Of course, this is not true. Borders between ecological zones and regions exist. However, they certainly do not coincide with the administrative division of our country.

For example, what is the problem of the Aral Sea from the point of view of ecological regionalization? Whose problem is it? A problem of Kazakhstan? A problem of Uzbekistan? A problem of the entire Central Asia? Or is it a global megaproblem whose "tentacles" reach across almost half of our planet?

By dividing territories into ecosystems and biogeocoenoses, we will create an organic, naturally derived principle of work of the Goskompriroda all over the country instead of the customary oblasts and republics. To be sure, in this case it may turn out that Northern Kazakhstan and the adjacent oblasts of the Russian Federation will be united in one regional environmental protection service. So what? This independent "ecological regionalization" is altogether necessary. Certainly, tremendous work on such economic regionalization is in store. There are no ready materials for it, including in the Goskompriroda itself. However, it is not enough to collect scientific material. In order to "revamp" the map of the country in its own manner, as it requires, the Goskompriroda needs a special, "supraministerial," and "supraterritorial" status.

The next principle of ecological strategy, that of responsibility for the unfavorable impact on the environment by individuals, enterprises, and ministries, is equally important.

As of now, there is no ecological law in the country, though various echelons have issued over 250 acts called upon to regulate environmental protection.

...Although this is generally not our business, we know what the accident in Bhopal cost the Union Carbide Company, and what compensation all of the victims received. What about our country? The sum which the

state had to pay for Chernobyl, R8 billion, is common knowledge. However, has Chernobyl affected in any way the well-being of our mighty nuclear superministry? With whose funds was the shamefully symbolic compensation paid to the residents of Belorussian Polesye? Definitely, not from the ministry funds. That is to say, they were paid from your funds and mine, as they say in the West, from the taxpayer's pocket....

The rights and duties of participants in ecological relations should be clearly laid out in the Law on Environmental Protection, as well as the responsibility of individuals and ministries. It should be unambiguously measured in rubles, but on the basis of scientifically proven ecological norms of human-inflicted impact, calculated specifically for every region, for every ecological system, rather than in the "seat-of-the pants" manner.

The national strategy should also include the principle of ecological safety of the decisions made based on the strictest demands with regard to everything that affects the ecologization of production.

The Goskompriroda should have the right to veto in case of critical situations, when a decision does not conform to the interests of the country.

I am convinced that had the ecologists had this right before the project of diverting northern rivers, the Volga-Chogray Canal, and the nuclear power stations in the Crimea or in Armenia would not have come about.

However, the veto is not an end unto itself. The veto, the fines, and other sanctions are merely the means to make ecological the technologies to which we could switch on the scale of our country given the coordinated actions of science and production within the framework of long-range scientific-technical programs. Supporting these programs should be a priority.

...According to the data of official statistics, 1,065 research facilities in 70 ministries are involved in ecological studies in our country. It goes without saying that in a majority of cases this is not "the right kind" of ecology. In essence, there are no ecologists, that is, specialists on environmental protection, or "environmentalists." They should be trained anew or retrained. The main point is to train even now those who will teach and retrain future ecologists, in other words, instruct the instructors.

The national ecological strategy should be based on the fundamental principle of ecologization in education in order not to have to fill the cadre gaps for decades.

Ideally, we should even now "disperse" ecology among different subjects of the school curriculum. The point is not for the school to train specialists in ecology. The task is to train knowledgeable users of nature with broad ecological culture. At the same time, it is necessary to organize, without much delay, the elimination of ecological illiteracy by means of broad-scale, methodically organized propaganda of elementary ecological knowledge.

Higher ecological education is the next strategically important stage. I believe that it is not all that difficult at present "to push through" a couple or more new colleges with the word "ecology" in their name. However, the task is to make a breakthrough, the objective of which is to create the Soviet ecological school which will ensure the generation of specialist-strategists, specialist-system scientists capable of making a comprehensive prediction and evaluation of ecological risk for any action and decision, working out an ecological policy, and implementing it.

This cadre breakthrough may be accomplished only if we manage to create a new quality in specialists, a genuine ecological elite. Understandably, the curriculum of such a school should embrace both the fundamental subjects of sciences offered at a good university level, a set of economic and sociological subjects, as well as, of course, a set of both mandatory and elective special technical classes.

Instructing the instructors, i.e., creating a base for the self-reproduction of ecological thinking at all levels, is another aspect of the same task.

Finally, international cooperation is the last but not least important principle of the ecological strategy. This very notion needs to be reconsidered. Here is just one example. The Soviet Union is a party to 53 multilateral environmental-protection agreements. Yet, the Goskompriroda discharges the responsibilities of leading organization only in three of them. As they say, no comment is in order.

The mostly coordinating nature of a majority of international ecological programs is their main shortcoming. Perhaps, it does not have to be proven that it is practically impossible to coordinate the actions of countries with qualitatively different economic and technological standards.

In ecology, relations should be built on a different basis all the more. The developed countries must understand that they cannot clean up the air and water only within their borders. They will be spoiled anyway from the "outside." In the long range, the best national economic programs will stop making sense if they do not "fit" in the context of the general strategy of humanity based on equalizing the levels of ecological safety of technologies. Here is an example which, as they say, is right on the surface. Everyone knows that you cannot go into the water in Yurmala. The blame for this devolves primarily on us, Soviets. We dump into the Baltic more industrial and communal waste than any of our neighbors. However, not only the Riga Coast suffers due to this. The

mechanisms of self-cleaning of the Baltic Sea as a whole have been disrupted, and, as a result, the ecologically pure Finland and Sweden are already suffering.

On the other hand, the winds carry across our western border almost 1.5 million tonnes of sulphuric acid a year.... Can this and similar issues be settled through customary procedures, for example, by signing another international agreement of some kind? Perhaps so. However, this will still be "the patching-up of ecological holes." In turn, the world and humanity already need a radical pattern for solving similar misunderstandings no matter where they develop. This means that the time has come to switch from coordination-oriented forms of cooperation to developing an active ecological policy for the entire globe proceeding from the principle of equalizing the levels of ecological safety of technologies.

Disarmament and conversion open new and unexpected opportunities. At present, the ways to dispose of radioactive and highly toxic wastes are one of the most "painful" issues for humanity. No matter where you put them on earth, they are still "a time bomb," our "poisoned gift" to the future generations. At present, the opportunity to use our carrier rockets freed up as a result of arms reductions for transporting these wastes in the direction of the sun is considered seriously, at the level of a technical assignment. It is proposed to transport this dangerous cargo someplace to an island in the middle of the world ocean and dispatch from there an average of one flight a day. This is not only a useful endeavor, but also a commercially profitable one (incidentally, the launch of one such rocket is 700 (!) times "cleaner" than one launch of the "shuttle"). Perhaps, this is one of the few types of "high technology" in which we could rank as the world leader.

Adopting the national ecological strategy and, consequently, endowing the Goskompriroda with a different status will call for creating a number of new environmental-protection services which we did not previously have in our country. This is, first of all, the State Ecological Safety Service of the USSR Goskompriroda. This organ should report directly to the Supreme Soviet of the country. Its responsibilities should include monitoring strict compliance with the national strategy and all plans and measures of the strategy by ministries, other offices, soviet and party organs, and so forth. Besides, a service equipped with a network of stationary and mobile laboratories should monitor the level of ecological danger in different regions. I believe that a subdivision endowed with the right to ultimately confirm (or deny the confirmation of) all kinds of ecological reviews should exist exactly within the framework of the ecological safety service. This service may also be charged with guarding industrial facilities an accident or an act of sabotage at which is fraught with ecological catastrophes, as well as the prevention of such misfortunes. Finally, a rapid deployment force of sorts should be within the framework of the ecological safety service.

Perhaps, the information, or ecological information, service is equally important and necessary for ecology. At present, the Goskompriroda essentially knows almost nothing about the actual ecological situation on every one of 3 million rivers and lakes, on millions of hectares of arable land, forests, and lands. At issue here is not only and not mostly a network of local monitoring of individual compounds, but the total biological danger of thousands of compounds present in the environment in complex combinations, at times even unknown compounds.

Information on the zones of ecological danger developing at the point of intercept of man-made objects (oil and gas pipelines, industrial facilities) with subsurface anomalies is equally important. These zones form their own megasystems, virtually not studied by science, which may only be seen through aerospace monitoring.

The information powerlessness which the Goskompriroda suffers at present may be overcome only by creating an autonomous system of space stations and platforms, of information networks summarizing all data in the unified memory of the state ecological information service.

The world has long become accustomed to the idea that clean air and water and harmless foodstuffs have to be paid for.

What will the national ecological strategy cost the country, at least approximately? Thus far, no such calculations have been made. However, every ruble (dollar, crown, tugrik) saved on ecology turns into tens and hundreds in losses. He who is greedy pays twice.

A USSR ecological bank needs to be created in order to finance the ecological strategy. It should collect the payments by all enterprises and offices of the country and individual citizens for resource utilization. Certainly, the details of this mechanism need to be specified, in particular, the pattern for distributing these funds between the center and the local organs of authority. It is clear that the rates of such payments should be differentiated depending on the region and the type of enterprise, as well as consist of two segments: the fixed part and the fines-and-bonuses part.

Finally, several words on the status of the Goskompriroda as an organization responsible for the implementation of the National Ecological Strategy.

At present, our state committee has practically no rights. Common sense suggests that the main ecological agency of the country will be able to operate without hindrance only when it is directly subordinated to the Supreme Soviet of the country and reports to the Congress of People's Deputies.

Law on Status of USSR Judges Published

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[Text] LAW OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ON THE STATUS OF JUDGES IN THE USSR

SECTION I

GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1. Judges and People's Assessors

1. Judges and people's assessors are USSR citizens elected in keeping with the procedure established by law to the USSR Supreme Court, the supreme courts of the union republics, the supreme courts of the autonomous republics, the kray, oblast, and city courts, the courts of the autonomous oblasts, the courts of the autonomous okrugs, the rayon (city) people's courts, and also the military tribunals in the USSR Armed Forces.

2. Judges and people's assessors are responsible to the organs or voters who elected them and report to them.

3. People's assessors have all the rights of judges when administering justice.

Article 2. Requirements Placed on Judges and People's Assessors

Judges and people's assessors must unwaveringly observe Soviet laws, take advantage of their knowledge and experience to carry out the tasks assigned to the courts, and be worthy of their title.

SECTION II

BASIC GUARANTEES OF INDEPENDENCE OF JUDGES AND PEOPLE'S ASSESSORS

Article 3. The Independence of Judges and People's Assessors

1. Judges and people's assessors are independent and are subordinate only to the law.

2. The independence of judges and people's assessors is provided for by the procedure for electing and discharging them established by the law, the immunity of judges and people's assessors, the strict legal procedure for administering justice, the secrecy of the conference of judges when making decisions and the ban against demanding that it be made public, the liability for disrespect for the court or interference with the resolution of concrete cases, the creation of the necessary organizational and technical conditions for the activity of the courts, and also material and social support for the judges that corresponds to their high status.

Article 4. Liability for Disrespect for the Court

A demonstration of disrespect for the court by parties participating in the case or citizens present in the court session or actions committed by anyone showing a clear disdain for the court entail liability in keeping with legislation of the USSR and the union republics.

Article 5. The Inadmissibility of Interference in the Resolution of Court Cases

1. Interference in the activity of judges and people's assessors in administering justice is forbidden.

2. Influence in any form whatever on judges and people's assessors in order to impede comprehensive, complete, and objective examination of a concrete case or to achieve an illegal judicial decision entails criminal liability in keeping with the legislation of the USSR and union republics.

3. The mass media do not have the right in their reports to predict the outcome of the judicial examination of a concrete case or in any other way influence the court before a decision is reached or the sentence goes into effect.

Article 6. Immunity of Judges and People's Assessors

1. Judges and also people's assessors when they are executing their duties in court cannot be held criminally liable or arrested without the agreement of:

The supreme soviet of the union republic, and during the period between sessions—the presidium of the supreme soviet of the union republic—for people's judges, the judges of kray, oblast, and city courts, courts of autonomous oblasts, supreme courts of autonomous republics, the supreme court of the union republic, and also people's assessors of these courts;

The USSR Supreme Soviet, and during the period between sessions the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, for judges and people's assessors of the USSR Supreme Court and military tribunals.

2. A criminal case can be brought against a people's judge or people's assessor of a rayon (city) people's court only by the procurator of the union republic or the USSR Procurator General, and against judges or people's assessors of other courts of union republics and courts of the USSR only by the USSR procurator general. Criminal charges can be brought against judges and people's assessors of military tribunals only with the agreement of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and against people's assessors of rayon (city) people's courts with the agreement of the presidium of the higher soviet of people's deputies who elected them, and during the period between sessions with the agreement of the presidium of the corresponding soviet. The question of

stripping the judge of his authority is decided at the same time. The prosecutor who brought the charges supervises the examination of the case.

3. Criminal cases against people's judges and people's assessors of rayon (city) people's courts are under the jurisdiction of the supreme courts of the union republics, and for judges and people's assessors of other courts of union republics and courts of the USSR the USSR Supreme Court.

4. Judges and also people's assessors who are doing their duty in court cannot be arrested or taken into custody or have administrative measures taken against them.

Article 7. Guarantees of Labor Rights of People's Assessors

People's assessors can be fired during the period when they have authority on the initiative of the administration or they can be transferred to lower paid work as a disciplinary measure only when the general procedure is observed and also with the agreement of the labor collective who elected the people's assessor.

SECTION III

ELECTIONS OF JUDGES AND PEOPLE'S ASSESSORS

Article 8. Requirements Placed on Candidates To Be Judges and People's Assessors

1. A USSR citizen who has reached 25 years of age by the day of the elections who has a higher legal education and a work tenure in legal specialties of no less than 2 years, and has passed the qualifying examination can be elected a people's judge.

2. USSR citizens who have a higher legal education and work tenure in legal specialties of no less than 5 years, including, as a rule, no less than 2 years as a judge, can be elected judges of higher courts.

3. USSR citizens who have reached 25 years of age by the day of the elections who are on active military duty who have a higher legal education and a military officer rank can be elected judges of military tribunals. A person who is elected judge of a military tribunal for the first time must pass a qualifying examination.

4. A USSR citizen who has reached 25 years of age by the day of the elections can be elected people's assessor, and a USSR citizen on active military duty can be elected people's assessor of a military tribunal.

Article 9. Selection of Candidates for Judges

1. The selection of candidates for judges is carried out by the justice organs in keeping with the requirements of the present law on the basis of recommendations and taking into account the opinion of the labor collectives in which the nominated candidates work and the conclusions of the board for judges' qualifications.

2. Parties who are recommended as candidates for judges for the first time undergo professional training in cases and under the procedure determined by the USSR Ministry of Justice.

3. Candidates for people's judges of rayon (city) people's courts, judges of kray, oblast, and city courts, courts of autonomous oblasts, courts of autonomous okrugs, and supreme courts of autonomous republics are nominated in conjunction with the Ministry of Justice and the supreme court of the union republic. Candidates for judges of supreme courts of union republics are nominated according to the procedure established by the legislation of the union republics, taking into account the opinions of the USSR Supreme Court and the USSR Ministry of Justice.

Article 10. Procedure for Elections and Terms of Office of Judges and People's Assessors

1. People's judges of rayon (city) people's courts and judges of kray, oblast, and city courts are elected by the corresponding higher soviets of people's deputies.

2. Judges of the USSR Supreme Court and the supreme courts of the union and autonomous republics and courts of autonomous oblasts and autonomous okrugs are elected by the USSR Supreme Soviet, the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics, and the soviets of people's deputies of the autonomous oblasts and autonomous okrugs, respectively.

3. People's assessors of rayon (city) people's courts are elected at meetings of citizens in the place of their residence or work by voting by a show of hands, and people's assessors of higher courts—by the corresponding soviets of people's deputies.

4. Judges of military tribunals are elected by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and people's assessors by meetings of military servicemen by voting by a show of hands.

5. Judges of all courts are elected for a period of 10 years. People's assessors of all courts are elected for a period of 5 years.

6. If the period of office of judges and people's assessors expires while they are examining a court case, their term is extended until the examination of this case is completed.

7. People's assessors are called upon to perform their duties in court in turn no more than 2 weeks a year, except for cases when this period is extended because of the need to complete the examination of a court case begun with their participation.

Article 11. The Oath of the Judge and the People's Assessor

1. Judges and people's assessors elected for the first time take an oath.

2. The text of the oath of judges and people's assessors and also the procedure for taking it are determined for judges of courts of the USSR by the USSR Supreme Soviet and for judges of courts of the union republics by the supreme soviets of the union republics.

SECTION IV

THE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF JUDGES AND PEOPLE'S ASSESSORS

Article 12. The Rights of Judges and People's Assessors

1. Judges and people's assessors have the authority necessary for administering justice. This authority is determined by legislation of the USSR and union republics.

2. Judges also have the right:

To demand that officials and citizens follow their instructions related to performing the duties assigned to them by law;

To make suggestions to state agencies, social organizations, and officials concerning elimination of legal violations or causes and conditions that contribute to the commission of legal violations;

To request information from state and social organs, scientific institutions, and information centers.

3. State organs, social organizations, and officials must carry out the demands and orders of judges associated with performing legal activity and promptly respond to the requests and demands made of them.

4. Judges can bring up for the discussion of a conference of judges and also directly to the USSR Supreme Court or the supreme court of the union republic suggestions to provide guidelines concerning issues having to do with the application of legislation.

5. A people's assessor with a higher legal education can replace a people's judge of a rayon (city) people's court in the event of the prolonged absence of the latter.

Article 13. Duties of Judges and People's Assessors

1. Judges and people's assessors when considering civil or criminal cases and cases concerning administrative legal violations must precisely follow the requirements of the law and provide for protection of the rights and freedom of the citizens, their honor and dignity, the interests of the society, and high culture and educational influence of judicial activity and they must be fair and humane.

2. Judges must raise the level of professional knowledge, study and generalize judicial practice, and participate in the work for legal education of citizens.

3. Judges and people's assessors when performing their duties in court and also in non-job-related relations should avoid everything that could diminish the authority of socialist justice and the dignity of the Soviet judge or raise doubts about his objectivity or impartiality.

4. People's assessors must master legal knowledge, prepare for legal examination of each case, and participate in the work for preventing legal violations.

5. Judges must preliminarily familiarize the people's assessors with the cases that are to be examined, existing legislation, and the practice of its application, and render assistance in exercising this authority.

6. Judges and people's assessors do not have the right to break the confidentiality of the conference of judges or to make public information obtained when conducting closed judicial hearings.

7. People's assessors must promptly appear in court to perform their functions for administering justice. When a people's assessor is summoned to court, the administration of the enterprise, institution, or organization where the people's assessor works or studies must excuse him.

SECTION V

CONFERENCE OF JUDGES. QUALIFICATIONS BOARDS OF JUDGES

Article 14. Conferences of Judges

1. Judges of courts of a union republic without oblast division, an autonomous republic, kray, oblast, city, autonomous oblast, or autonomous okrug are called to a conference each year.

2. Conferences of judges discuss questions of application of legislation that arise in judicial practice and make suggestions to the USSR Supreme Court or the supreme court of the union republic to provide guidelines or present ideas about the procedure for legislative initiative or interpretation of the laws. In cases envisioned by article 15 of the present law conferences elect qualified boards of judges.

3. The procedure for convening and conducting conferences of judges of military tribunals and also electing qualifications boards of these judges is determined by the Provisions on Military Tribunals approved by the USSR law.

Article 15. Qualifications Boards of Judges

1. Qualifications boards of judges are created for purposes of providing for advancement of worthy candidates to judicial work and strengthening the guarantees of independence of judges.

2. Qualifications boards of judges in autonomous republics, krays, oblasts, cities, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs are elected by conferences of judges from the people's judges and members of the corresponding higher courts. Qualifications boards of judges in union republics that do not have oblast division are elected by conferences of judges from the people's judges and members of city courts by judges of these courts. People's judges should comprise no less than half the members of the board.

3. Qualifications boards of judges of the USSR Supreme Court and the supreme courts of the union republics are elected from members of the corresponding courts by plenums of these courts.

4. The quantitative composition of the qualifications board of judges is determined when it is elected. Chairmen of courts and their deputies, with the exception of chairmen of rayon (city) people's courts, are not included on qualifications boards.

5. Qualifications boards of judges are elected for a period of 5 years. Qualifications boards of judges report on their work to conferences of judges or plenums of the courts that elected them.

6. The procedure for elections and the organization of the activity of qualifications boards of judges are determined by provisions approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the supreme soviets of the union republics, respectively.

Article 16. Authority of Qualifications Boards

1. Qualifications boards of judges:

Evaluate the readiness for judicial work of each candidate who is promoted to people's judge for the first time and conduct a qualifying examination of candidate judges;

Give conclusions about the possibility of promoting a candidate to the position of people's judge or a member of a higher court;

Conduct qualifications certification of judges;

Give a conclusion concerning recalling judges;

Consider the question of the disciplinary liability of judges.

2. Qualifications boards of judges of the USSR Supreme Court and the supreme courts of the union republics also consider appeals of decisions of lower qualifications boards concerning questions of recall and disciplinary liability of judges.

SECTION VI

RECALL AND EARLY RELEASE OF JUDGES AND PEOPLE'S ASSESSORS. DISCIPLINARY LIABILITY OF JUDGES

Article 17. Recall and Early Release of Judges and People's Assessors

1. Judges and people's assessors can be deprived of their authority early for violation of socialist laws or for conduct which is incompatible with their high rank just the same as if they were recalled by the organ or voters who elected them and also because of a court conviction against them that has gone into effect.

2. Judges and people's assessors can be relieved of their duties early:

Because the condition of their health prevents the continuation of their work;

Because of being elected to another position or transferred to other work with their consent;

At their own request.

3. The procedure for recall and early release of judges and people's assessors of courts of the USSR and courts of the union republics is determined by legislation of the USSR and legislation of the union republics, respectively.

4. The question of recalling judges is resolved taking into account the conclusions of the qualifications board of judges and the ministry of justice of the union republic or the USSR Ministry of Justice.

Article 18. Disciplinary Liability of Judges

1. Judges can be held for disciplinary liability;

For violation of the laws when examining court cases;

For commission of another job crime;

For inappropriate conduct.

2. The procedure for bringing judges to disciplinary liability is established by legislation of the USSR and the union republics.

3. The overturning or amendment of a judicial decision in and of itself does not entail liability of the judge who participated in making this decision if he did not commit any deliberate violation of the law or act in poor conscience, involving significant consequences.

SECTION VII

CONCLUDING PROVISIONS

Article 19. Qualifications Certification of Judges

Judges, under the policy established by the USSR Supreme Soviet, undergo certification, and the results of this, taking into account their qualifications and work experience, are used to assign qualifications classes.

Article 20. Material and Social Support for Judges

1. The wages for judges are established taking into account the qualifications certification. The procedure for assignment and the amounts of payment in addition to the salary for qualifications and also pensions for judges are established by legislation of the USSR and union republics.

2. Local soviets of people's deputies are obliged, no later than 6 months after the election of the judge, to provide good housing for him in the form of an apartment or house.

Article 21. Judges Combining Jobs

The work of judges in other state institutions, enterprises, and organizations, and also in cooperatives and other social organizations under conditions of combining jobs is not allowed with the exception of pedagogical and scientific research activity.

Article 22. People's Assessors' Retention of Wages and Other Payments and Benefits During the Time When They Are Performing Their Duties in Court

1. For the time the people's assessor is performing his duties in court he is paid the same amount he is paid for his permanent work.

2. With respect to other payments and benefits, the time spent by people's assessors in performing their duties in court is the same as time spent in their main job.

3. The procedure and amounts of reimbursement for expenditures related to the performance of court duties by people's assessors are established by legislation of the union republics.

Article 23. Symbols of Judicial Power. Certificates for Judges and People's Assessors

1. The symbol of judicial power in the USSR Supreme Court is the judicial robes with a depiction of the USSR official coat of arms. The symbols of judicial power in the courts of the union republics are established by legislation of the union republics.

2. Judges and people's assessors are given certificates, models of which are established:

For courts of union republics by the presidiums of the supreme soviets of the union republics,

For courts of the USSR by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.
[Signed]Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, M. Gorbachev
Moscow, Kremlin, 4 August 1989

Official Interviewed on Kuznetsov Trial

LD2807141789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Interview with Professor Boris Lazarevich Nazarov, member of the bureau of the Commission on Human Rights of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, by correspondent (Yuriy Lyukin); date, place of interview not given]

[Text] The trial of Sergey Kuznetsov, who has been in custody for 8 months, has resumed in Sverdlovsk. This trial has aroused great interest among the Soviet and foreign public in connection with the supposition that has arisen about violations of human rights. Our correspondent (Yuriy Lyukin) had a meeting with Professor Boris Lazarevich Nazarov, member of the Bureau of the Commission on Human Rights of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, who has just returned from Sverdlovsk. Here is a recording of their conversation:

[Begin recording] [(Lyukin)] Kuznetsov is accused of slander and resisting militia officials. At the beginning of last December he took part in an unsanctioned meeting devoted to the 40th anniversry of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and distributed Democratic Union leaflets. Boris Lazarevich, please tell us the reason for your trip to Sverdlovsk.

[Nazarov] This trial naturally attracted the attention of the public at all levels, not only within the country but also outside it. In this connection I was sent to Sverdlovsk to acquaint myself with all the material connected with the circumstances of this case. I had meetings with people who were directly or indirectly concerned with this trial, with the leadership of Sverdlovsk Oblast, with the chairman of the people's court of Kirovskiy rayon of Sverdlovsk, and with the people's judge who is conducting this trial.

[(Lyukin)] Did you manage to meet with the accused?

[Nazarov] Yes, a meeting took place on 20 July in the remand center with Sergey Kuznetsov. According to the doctor, his health is weak; he went on a hunger strike on 28 June.

[(Lyukin)] What was the reason for this?

[Nazarov] He says that this form of protest was chosen back in Moscow in response to the inhuman treatment, which degrades his dignity. He thinks that the leadership of the procuracy and the Ministry of Internal Affairs will not be able to ignore these statements and will investigate the truth in connection with these statements by Kuznetsov.

I may add that Kuznetsov stated firmly that with regard to the administration of the Sverdlovsk remand center, where he is at present, and with regard to the medical care, he has no criticism. He explains the continuation of his hunger strike in the altered conditions as being his protest against his being held in custody illegally.

[(Lyukin)] As far as concerns the essence of the accusation under Article 1911, resisting militia bodies, that is more or less understood. But what do you know about the accusation under Article 130, for slander?

[Nazarov] The criminal case was put in motion on the basis of the statement of the head of the Rayon directorate of internal affairs, who accuses Sergey Kuznetsov of slandering him. As Kuznetsov's being held in custody was, in his own words, the only reason for continuing his hunger strike, and as there are doubts about whether precisely this measure of crime prevention is commensurate or appropriate, this led me to give surety along with a request to the court to replace the measure of crime prevention—holding him in cutody—with a written undertaking not to move away.

It must be said that some of the statements Kuznetsov made during my meeting with him aroused objections in me, and quite fundamental objections, as I told him.

[(Lyukin)] Did he agree with your arguments?

[Nazarov] I did not get that impression. But in a civilized society, and even more so in one claiming to be a state based on law, in my view even dissidence does not free a man from being treated fairly, from mercy and humaneness.

[(Lyukin)] What is your personal opinion about the legality of the trial? What do you think, is there a corpus delicti in Kuznetsov's actions?

[Nazarov] I am unable to express all my impressions to you since they might be taken as an attempt to exert influence in one way or another. The judge conducting this trial considers that the interests of an objective and fair trial in its concluding stage still needs the continuation of the judicial inquiry into this case. [end recording]

Prosecutor's Office Discusses Anticrime Program

PM0208131189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Intensifying Fight Against Crime"]

[Text] The statewide program for the fight against crime was examined by the participants in a sitting of the expanded collegium of the USSR Prosecutor's Office. It concluded its work 21 July.

A meeting took place with scientists from the All-Union Scientific Research Institute on Problems of Strengthening Legality and Law and Order. There was a thorough discussion on closer cooperation in crime prevention and the organization of the fight against crime.

Then members of the collegium exchanged views with representatives of the press. They talked about increasing the role of the mass media in the struggle against infringements of the law and closer cooperation between journalists and personnel of prosecutor's office organs.

In the process of these meetings the need for more precise coordination of actions between all law enforcement organs and a guarantee of reliable legal protection for prosecutors when carrying out tasks to strengthen legality and law and order in the country was stressed.

Bribetakers Face Surrender of State Awards

PM3107092589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 6

[A. Gayazov report under the "Details for IZVESTIYA" rubric: "Stripped of State Awards.... It Has Been Recommended to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium That Seventy People Be Stripped of State Awards"]

[Text] The recently formed deputies' commission on state awards has approved the draft of the decree in question. The list includes 37 former military servicemen, 26 employees, 6 workers, and 1 pensioner. Ten of them had been awarded USSR orders and medals for military services and 9 for labor achievements, while 51 have been awarded commemorative and jubilee medals. They have all committed serious crimes of one kind or another.

These reports make grim reading. Each one represents the story of a person's downfall. One raped a minor, another carried out a robbery, a third was involved in smuggling and speculation, a fourth was prosecuted for embezzlement of party dues, a fifth stole property, a sixth committed a murder....

The list could be continued, of course. It is a long one. Bribetakers occupy a prominent place in it: There is a large group of leading trade workers from Moscow. The bribetakers' ranks are "adorned" by the name of Yu. Churbanov, who was convicted of receiving bribes amounting to R90,960. This bribetaker, who is serving a 12-year prison sentence, had been awarded the orders of the Red Banner and the Red Star and many medals.

Here is another story of someone's rise and fall—that of Gyzygul Annamukhammedova, former chairman of the "Kommunizm" collective farm in Turkmenistan's Mary Oblast. She was awarded the lofty title of Hero of Socialist Labor. She was awarded a number of orders—of the October Revolution, of the Labor Red Banner, of the Friendship of the Peoples, the "Badge of Honor," and the medal "For Labor Valor." Last February she was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment for embezzling state financial resources amounting to R1,777,028 between 1983 and 1986. She misappropriated R167,957 of that amount while the remainder was used to bribe workers of a cotton gin.

You feel grief and shame when you learn about such stories. But the facts are inexorable. There is no escaping or hiding from them. And it is important that the procedure of stripping people of their awards is public [glasnyy] and open. It is of tremendous instructive significance. As the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium awards department reported, approximately 400 such cases a year are examined—a small number if you bear in mind the host of mass awards of past years. Nevertheless, this is food for thought. That is why the deputies' commission on state awards demanded that the organizations with the right to bestow awards adopt a rigorous approach to the selection of candidates. Furthermore, after the well known Central Committee and Council of Ministers resolution, this procedure is changing. We all noticed this fact: The newspapers are no longer filled with endless decrees on awards. The conveyor belt has stopped. But more time is needed to fully restore the shaken prestige of state awards.

And one more point. After the first report on the work of the deputies' Commission on State Awards, there were many telephone calls from readers on the decorations awarded to L.I. Brezhnev. As we have learned, absolutely all his awards, Soviet and foreign, have been surrendered to the state by his widow and are now in the decoration repository.

Suspects Arrested in Journalists' Murder

LD1908173989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1703 GMT 19 Aug 89

["Announcement by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Aug (TASS)—The mass media have recently reported the murder of Moscow journalist V. Glotov and N. Nikiforov, correspondent for the Chuvash Rayon paper ZNAMYA OKTYABRYA. The citizen who attacked V. Glotov, causing his death, has been discovered by the measures that were taken and been arrested.

Two local inhabitants have been arrested for the murder of N. Nikiforov.

Careful checking is under way on all the facts set out in the press connected with the deaths of the journalists.

Civil Defense Exercise Conducted in Moscow

LD1808052689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] We will begin the news bulletin with a report of civil defense training that took place in Moscow. A situation was simulated today on the city's civil defense training maps. The exercise involved dealing with the consequences of an accident involving the emission of radioactive substances into the atmosphere. City and rayon civil defense headquarters and services and permanent and emergency commissions operating under the soviets' executive committee were involved in the training. As the civil defense headquarters of the capital reported, the radiation situation in the city is normal. There is no danger to the population. The training made it possible to work through the technique of eliminating accidents and their consequences.

Operation of Kazakh Nuclear Reactor Halted

LD1808123589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Operation has been halted of the experimental nuclear reactor of the Nuclear Physics Institute of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Academy of Sciences. There haven't been any operational faults. This step has been taken with the single purpose of conducting a new and careful examination of the installation in order to be reassured of its safety for Alma-Ata's population of more than a million. Increased seismic activity has also been noted lately in southern Kazakhstan. Additional measures are now being taken to enhance the reactor's seismic resistance using front-ranking experience from the USSR and abroad.

Seven Killed in Siberian Railroad Accident

LD1808124389 Moscow TASS in English 1209 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 18 TASS—A freight train ran over seven people on the Kazynet-Biskamzha route in Siberia, the GUDOK newspaper reported today. The engine-driver noticed the people lying on the track, signalled to them but they did not move away and were evidently sleeping. Bags of cedar cones were found near the bodies.

An attempt to blow up a railway line was made on the Megri-Karchivan, Azerbaijan, section. A home-made device exploded when it was being placed on the track, killing a collective farm worker from the Ali-Dara village. The republic's law enforcement bodies said he was an extremist. An investigation has been launched into the action to identify the man's accomplices. Traffic was not interrupted.

Historian Interviewed on Hitler-Stalin Pact

AU1608132989 Vienna PROFIL in German 14 Aug 89 p 53

[Interview with Mikhail Matveyev Narinskiy, head of the Department for West European Contemporary History at the Academy of Sciences in Moscow, by Raimund Loew: "This Protocol Does Exist"; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] [Loew] Official Soviet historiography has for a long time justified the Hitler-Stalin Pact by stating that the Western powers had politically isolated the Soviet Union and that, as a result, Stalin had no choice but to conclude a nonaggression pact with Hitler in order not to become a victim of his aggression. How do you see things today?

[Narinskiy] As a matter of fact, the Munich agreement that was concluded without the Soviet Union and against the Soviet Union, and which, from the beginning, was aimed at driving the Soviet Union out of West European politics, exerted considerable influence on the Soviet leadership at the time. However, if one takes an objective look today at events that took place at the time, the situation of the Soviet Union was quite good in the summer of 1939. From the spring of 1939 on, when the CSSR was liquidated by Nazi Germany, the Western powers were forced to enter into negotiations with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union held talks both with the West and with Germany. From the viewpoint of overcoming Soviet isolation, the conclusion of the pact with Germany was not justified.

[Loew] The Soviet Union has always denied the existence of a secret protocol on the Baltic states.

[Narinskiy] This document became part of the cold war, of the entire ideological propaganda war, during the postwar era. Now the protocol has been published in the Baltic republics, and it has also been included in the documents of a commission of Soviet-Polish historians. In my view, the majority of Soviet experts no longer has any doubt that this protocol does exist, despite the fact that the original has not been found in Soviet or German archives. However, there is no longer any doubt that such an agreement exists. All documents attached to the Nonaggression Pact suggest that the existence of such a protocol seems quite likely. The fact that Soviet historians stubbornly denied its existence for such a long time results from the general idealization of Soviet foreign policy in the past and the lack of any criticism. Soviet foreign policy used to be viewed as something constant that was always aimed the preservation of peace, the well-being of the people, and collective security. All these artificial systems must be destroyed now.

Creation of All-Union Rescue Center Approved

PM0208170589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jul 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 1

[A. Samokhin report: "Professional Rescue Center Set Up"]

[Text] A few days ago the Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies Executive Committee [ispolkom] approved the creation of an All-Union Rescue Center—a multisectorial economic and commercial association whose main founder is the Soviet Red Cross.

The event was preceded by the efforts of enthusiasts—climbers, speleologists, and construction workers united by the tragic experience of rescue work in Armenia. It was there, in the ruins of Leninakan and Spitak, that the pressing need for a rapid-response service for natural disasters patterned on the services already operating successfully abroad became obvious.

In late January directive organs adopted a resolution on creating such a service as quickly as possible. The Soviet Red Cross Ispolkom formed a special department called upon, together with representatives of volunteer rescue detachments, to draw up statutes for a single rescue center for the whole country. And now at last it has been set up.

The cofounders of the All-Union Rescue Center include the Social Initiatives Fund, the Union of Veterans of Afghanistan, the USSR Academy of Sciences Innovations Association, the Fund for the Survival of Mankind, a new economic initiatives association, a youth housing complex association, and also a number of interested ministries and departments. The basic task of the center is to save people's lives in any emergencies: natural disasters on land and water, accidents, and catastrophes. The All-Union Rescue Center is organized on the principle of regional autonomy and includes a professional school for general rescue workers, detachments dispersed around the whole country (there are already over 15 of them), its own communications, and an efficient information system. It is proposed to use radio hams from the central radio club and also state satellite communications to alert the detachments. It is planned to transport rescue workers to the scene of disasters by civil and military transport aircraft.

The All-Union Rescue Center will operate as a joint-stock company on the principle of economic accountability. Using the initial joint-stock capital, the rescue center will engage in economic activity—developing and introducing new techniques, manufacturing special equipment and kit, and other work.

The majority of foreign rescue detachments, which worked so effectively in Armenia, are united in an association of rescue services under the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies in Geneva. With the help of the Red Cross, the All-Union Rescue Center intends to utilize its foreign colleagues' experience and initially their equipment with the intention in time of becoming a full member of the International Rescue Association. Interesting collaboration has emerged between the Soviet rescue workers and the environmental organization "Greenpeace" and the American organization "Project Giraffe." The leading organ of the All-Union Rescue Center is the council of directors, headed by V. Sovkov. The Moscow rescue organization is represented by B. Zemtsov. All organizations and individuals interested in cooperation with the All-Union Rescue Center can telephone the center's information department in Leningrad on 232-07-19, or the special department of the Soviet Red Cross Ispolkom in Moscow on 126-76-31.

Petrovskiy Views World Stability, Interdependence

18070740 Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian
No 32, 4-10 Aug 89 p 1

[Article by Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs and doctor of historical sciences, under the rubric "Ideas and Opinions": "Renewal and Stability in an Interdependent World"]

[Text] International relations are entering a qualitatively new period today, which has became possible for the first time in the entire dramatic history of mankind. In a period that brought the "cold war" to a close, as is well-known, there were not and could not have been any victors. At this juncture it is important for all of us not only to leave the past in the past, but also to ensure that the end of the "cold war" does not turn out to be a breathing spell before its "second recurrence," and that it becomes decisive and guaranteed. Then all members of the world community will be the victors, and enmity and distrust will be the vanquished.

What is the reason for stating and predicting such fundamental changes for the better in world affairs? It is not easy to answer in a few words. But the main reason, in our opinion, is the objective and fundamental character of the changes taking place in the world and the profound changes in the social consciousness, and the necessity issuing from this of outstripping theoretical and political research, jointly revealing the essence of developing processes and the collective use of their positive potential.

Most likely, this approach is right: the assurance of stability through dynamism. The most reliable guarantee for the preservation and strengthening of the civilized world now lies in the conscientious management of changes and in the development of general criteria for progress. And, vice-versa, it is the absence of dynamism and a wait-and-see policy that would today threaten a disruption of stability and an uncontrolled reaction of spontaneity and global catastrophe.

The peaceful period that is setting in in international relations is opening up a new world—a world of a positive nature, a world that is based not on a balance of forces, but on a balance of realistic and correctly understood interests. An epoch in which the alternation of periods of confrontation and thawing will give way to the dynamics of cooperation in all spheres of intercourse.

What kinds of approaches are there to such a world structure in broad outline? One can argue about terminology and about words, but if one finds, as was done by Moliere's hero, that he is speaking prosaically, then the question concerns the priority of universal security: universal because the universal means are political means; universal because it applies not only to the military-political sphere, but also to all other spheres of international relations, such as ecology, economics, human rights, and others; universal because it presupposes a parallel constructivism of bilateral and multilateral diplomacy and excludes setting one against the other. Finally, it is universal because it is a question of the participation of all countries in close ties with the social and intellectual elite.

Freedom of conscience and convictions are the inalienable right of every person. Freedom of choice is an equally immutable principle in international relations. Changes are taking place in practically all countries at different tempos, different intensities, and different degrees of efficiency. Changes are encompassing even those who would like to think that they have no need to change. And no one can be denied the right to resolve his own tasks on the basis of his own values, and on the basis of historically established conditions and opportunities.

Just as apparent today is the necessity to include all states and alliances in the world process, and the elimination of artificial barriers and the obsolete stereotypes of confrontation. Attempts to "squeeze," and especially to force, others into a corner and to fence oneself in with protectionism and restrictions on economic and scientific-technical cooperation are shortsighted.

The new conceptual approaches to international stability are inherent in a decisive break with the cult of power and emancipation from the militarization of consciousness. They reject the separation of policy from universal human norms of morality and create the basis for the humanization of international relations. In addition, we believe that the inculcation of norms of ethics and morality in international relations should not be embodied in the role of a supreme judge, but in the force of personal example that countries should impart to their foreign and domestic policy.

Interdependence and integrity are the opposite poles of isolationism and autarchy. Any action has international consequences. Therefore, the idea of reasonable self-restraint by states and the correlation of their steps with universal human moral criteria take on particular importance. The responsibility of each state today includes a realistic view of the surrounding world and of itself, a self-cleansing of the features of the "cold war", an unbiased attitude toward others, and an understanding of one's interests in uninterrupted ties with the interests of partners. And this is a responsibility not only to one's own people, but to all civilization. It is in an interdependent world that common and individual responsibility for solving knotty world problems merges.

The main road to a peaceful period is disarmament and control over armaments. The concept of universal security does not detract from but, on the contrary, illuminates its systematic role as an important factor in trust, the preservation of stability, and, at the same time, the dynamism of international relations.

It is said that you cannot leap over an abyss in two jumps. This is the logic of the adherents of nuclear deterrence, who rely customarily on a concept that today is obsolete and dangerous. Of course, stability is necessary to a reliable assurance at all stages in the lessening of military confrontation. And the rejection of the doctrine of nuclear deterrence in favor of a new model of security based on defensive sufficiency of military capabilities and deterrence with the help of political-legal mechanisms can be a distinctive bridge across the abyss.

It is important to not dramatize differences, but to instead seek resolutions to them oneself, and to invite partners to join in. Because, taking realistic positions, the problem of eliminating nuclear weapons cannot be viewed in any other way than as a process of stages. Therefore, the East and the West can go through the first stages of this distance together, not giving up their own positions—we, holding to the nonnuclear ideals, and the other side to the concept of "minimal deterrence"—and, at the same time, for a better mutual understanding, both sides can examine quietly what lies behind the concept of "minimal deterrence," discuss this problem, and present a political estimate. Trust and stability would only win from this.

Disarmament, further, takes on a qualitatively new character. Under conditions of a universal process, it is supplemented by a whole number of accompanying measures, such as inspection, trust, and the freeing of resources. Thus, pervasive inspection is the basic framework for stability in the process of disarmament. Measures of trust, in time growing into a large-scale policy of trust, serve as the "philosopher's stone" of disarmament, which facilitates consistent curtailment of military confrontation. Finally, a guarantee of the irreversibility of disarmament becomes a conversion of military enterprises, and the shift of resources on the whole, from the military to the peaceful sector.

Realization of the postulates of the time requires intense thinking, a troubled conscience, an examination of the usual ideas—in a word, new political thinking. Very likely these words uttered by M.S. Gorbachev recently in Paris express the essence of a genuinely contemporary—dynamic and intellectual—policy. Today there is no point in demanding that others become like oneself, or even simply biding one's time, hoping that partners will change. No, the better future of the changing world can only be a product of coauthorship and a dialogue of all social systems, a reinforcement of new positive trends in world affairs, and support of practical actions in the interests of stability under conditions of dynamic renewal.

Morality of USSR Foreign Policy Discussed

PM1808143089 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 32, 6 Aug 89 p 6

[Aleksey Izyumov and Andrey Kortunov article: "Diplomacy and Morals in Perestroyka"]

[Text] In a recent interview to IZVESTIYA Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, declared: "Politics, that don't serve humane goals, are immoral. *Our foreign policy,* I think you'll agree, *is deeply moral* (our italics—A.I. and A.K.). Because, what principles do we proclaim and defend in the international arena? Priority of common human values, supremacy of law, and, therefore, the protection of human rights, overcoming of confrontation and consolidation of the world community for the sake of preserving civilization—is there anything more moral!"

The principles mentioned by Minister Shevardnadze have been proclaimed. However, we can't say that they have all already been implemented and that our diplomacy—that implements our foreign policy—always acts in accordance with them.

We can foresee objections by diplomats and non-professionals that diplomacy is a fine and delicate art. Sometimes public declarations, motivated by moral laws—for example, on human rights—may be interpreted as interference into domestic affairs and damage relations between relevant countries. Would it not be better to discuss these questions in "working order", especially when dealing with states allied to us?

Such a way is, of course, more convenient. And working meetings, confidential talks and addresses are, of course, necessary. But can morality "for service use" be called moral? Can the preaching of morality be done in whispers behind closed doors?

This is true of allies, too—because being allies they should have higher morals than the "others". Probably for us Soviet people, the question, let's say, of human rights in fraternal Bulgaria, which is connected with our

country by very close historical, cultural and political relations should be no less important than the question of human rights somewhere in Latin America.

Why Are We Silent?

Everyone remembers the case of Salman Rushdie, the British writer, whom the leadership of Iran wanted to kill for his "heretical book". The overwhelming majority of the international community has expressed clearly and unequivocally, its protest, and all the leading countries in the West did this officially and through diplomatic channels. The USSR limited itself to rather non-understandable formulations, from which it is even hard to gather whose side we're on in the conflict.

But if our lack of principles in Rushdie's case was already mentioned in the press (it was done by A. Bovin in his commentary in Moscow News), then there is another example—our stand in the Hungary-Romania conflict on the policy of Bucharest in relation to a Hungarian minority in Romania—which has hardly been commented on in the Soviet press. Hungary, as well as many other countries, is actively against Romania's plans to resettle to cities and towns the population of one of its regions with a prevailing Hungarian population. Bucharest's aim is to free agricultural land—but that threatens the destruction of the environment and damage to the culture of some 14,000 villages with a Hungarian population of up to 2 million. Half of Europe is condemning the Romanian Government's plans, but the USSR keeps silent and even abstained from voting on this issue at the UN Commission of Human Rights in Geneva. How does this agree with the protection of human rights in the world?

Another example. A conflict between the military led by General Noriega and the civil opposition is going on for over a year now in far-off Panama. The General is in very complex relations with the US which blames him for patronizing drug dealers and for the wholesale violations of human rights in his country. If the former accusation has to be as yet convincingly proved, the latter has been many times shown in documents, photos and the press.

The USSR, however, didn't utter a word of condemnation addressed to the military authorities, thus siding with the General. He was even given space to express his stand in the magazine WORLD MARXIST REVIEW (No 6, 1989), in which Soviet editors play a leading role.

Need for Moral Control

These examples (and I could go on) show that our foreign policy does not always produce samples of high morals even today—in the fifth year of perestroika and new thinking. We think that by this yardstick Sweden and Denmark (which, by the way, broke diplomatic relations with Iran because of Rushdie's case) do outstrip us. And not only they.

It is not so really hard to explain, on a common sense level, the existing gap today between the high principles and the everyday practice of Soviet foreign policy—many high-moral activities are often connected with great political losses in the present-day International pattern which is too far from being perfect.

It is because of this, probably, that we cannot apply to our diplomacy any "absolute morals"—because even the recognition of the primacy of common human values over national and class values does not mean that a forced compromise in some cases is impossible between them. (And it is impossible, for example, to demand from the most "humane" state that it would offer economic help to others, damaging its own interests.) But, at the same time, it is impossible to weaken moral control over foreign policy, because other wise it can again fall into the abyss of opportunism and bureacratic imperialism.

Who, then, will exercise this moral control? In the long run it will be the people through their deputies in the Supreme Soviet and other representative organs. But, after nearly more than 50 years of alienating the Supreme Soviet from foreign policy, it will not be so easy for it to do this. At last minimum preparations are necessary, which, as we see it, can be contributed only by an honest press, independent from foreign policy departments.

Unanimous Indifference?

In this field, the Soviet press, alas, is not so good. Censorship presses international journalism much more strongly than the home reports. This is especialy true of precisely the moral assessments of foreign policy events. Facts have to suffer in this case. We can offer a lot of examples of this, but only a few will suffice.

Early this June, the entire world discussed the tragic events in Beijing. Hundreds of people were killed. The reaction too these events in the majority of countries was the same—condemnation of violence over unarmed people. The state leaders and parliaments of the world's leading countries, including Great Britain, France, the US and Japan, made relevant statements, a number of diplomatic visits to China was cancelled, and other sanctions were taken. The USSR again as in the case with Rushdie, limited itself to a neutral statement, with not a word denouncing the brutality of the Chinese army. The statement on China, adopted by the Congress of People's Deputies as we see it, doesn't produce any honour for them. But the most noticeable in the Soviet reaction was that practicaly not a single broadcast expressed an alternative opinion! Could it be that all our commentators were so unanimous in supporting the activities of the Chinese authorities? Okay—the government, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Parliament—they may have some "higher" interests (though, we might remind—according to theory, we now don't have any other interests higher than the common human ones),

but why not let those Soviet people who felt only protest against the behaviour of the Chinese authorities express their feelings? Or does the expression of opinions on common human questions remain in our country a monopoly of the state? And it is so easy to imagine what a wave of "nationwide anger" would have swept the Soviet press, if the events like those in China would have happened somewhere in South Korea or Japan.

The same concerted silence can be observed in relation to the situation of the Turkish national minority in Bulgaria. The press in Europe is bulging with reports about the mass exodus of Bulgarian Turks from the country. But, judging by the Soviet press, nothing special is taking place there.

Unfortunately, the evil practice of double moral standards (to cry out against the injustices in "their domain" and keep silent about the same injustices in our country, or in countries of our friends and allies) has not been touched by perestroika. When Arkadiy Vaksberg, a well-known journalist from LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, published his first realistic report, without any decorations, from the DPRK, such a political-diplomatic merry-go-round started around the article, that the author probably was sorry that he wrote on this theme. In any case, no one else wrote about this.

No sooner did satirist M. Zadornov mention in his TV show a story about "Palestinian terrorists", than the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs refuted and condemned his "escapade". One would like to ask our vigilant diplomats—doesn't the Palestinian movement have terrorist groups? Their existence has been proved many times and is recognized in all the world, even by some of the Palestinian leaders themselves.

Therefore, even a brief analysis of Soviet foreign policy over the last few years is enough to conclude—in spite of an obvious and considerable progress in its other fields, the progress in moral fields is as yet insignificant. The paradox is that the gap between the proclaimed principles of foreign policy and its practical implementation has, maybe, even grown worse. When the USSR declared that common human interests come first in politics, it has, in so doing, agreed to be judged by the highest standards. Because common human values are so called since they have no party card or nationality!

Morals and Democratization

An impression is, however, created that not all the leaders in the USSR have completely realized the responsibility of recognizing that common human values come first. The old malady of "weakened" respect to principles is still being felt. And if we don't want for lofty ideas, proclaimed by the USSR for all the world to hear, to lose the confidence of our own people and the international public, new steps must follow as quickly as possible to consolidate the favourable impulse produced today and secure a reliable legal and political basis for it. Such steps, we think, must include a radical democratization in the system of foreign policy decision making and glasnost and openness, in our foreign policy. For the beginning we could publish detailed data on our military and economic aid to other countries. To open the archives of at least 25 years ago (at present virtually all the postwar archives of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs are inaccessible not only for the broad public but for specialists, too). The Minister of Foreign Affairs should have to make an annual report at the Congress of People's Deputies.

Very much depends on the press—on how independent and critical it can become in relation to official diplomacy, how quickly our journalists will make use of the rights which they already have and how resolutely will the "self-censorship" of each one who writes on international subjects be overcome.

As for the present-day moral image of Soviet foreign policy, the first thing that we should do, as a state, is to purge ourselves of the heavy inheritance of the past, to honestly recognize our share of responsibility for the errors committed in the name of the people in international affairs, and to ask pardon of those who have suffered because of them. Yes, the theme of repentance, which is today so usual in Soviet society, must also have an international dimension. Otherwise, our repentance will be incomplete and insincere.

To mention in passing—the international errors of the West, from which many nations have suffered, are absolutely no less than ours. The West, therefore, also has something to repent for.

And the last thing. In proclaiming before the whole world our loyalty to high moral ideals, we in the USSR must not pull ourselves off our own national soil. A policy aimed at establishing justice "on a world scale" and which claims to have a higher aim than establishing moral order in one's own home will win neither international confidence, nor support at home. The Soviet people have always been ready to extend a helping hand to people in trouble, but when this help is given in secret, when the state, while doing so, permits itself to rob millions of its own people, at the expense of the natural environment, health and culture of its own people—then the moral value of such help cannot be very high.

World history, and this goes for the history of the USSR, has proved with absolute clarity that the morals of a country's foreign policy never rise higher than the morals of that country's domestic policy.

Paper Encourages Reader Ideas on CPSU Role

PM2707162189 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 89 p 2

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Plain Talking: The Party Today. What Should It Be Like?": "A Few Words on the Course of the Discussion"]

[Text] The editorial mailbag has already brought the first letters responding to our publication of 11 July. Let us say right away: The readers are unanimous on just one

thing—support for the fact that the discussion of the party's present situation has begun. Otherwise, the opinions and proposals are the most diverse, sometimes polar opposites. Of course, we expected that and were ready for it when we suggested the "plain talk." Nevertheless, at the very beginning of the discussion it is necessary to dwell on some, as it were, "procedural" aspects of its conduct.

Here, for example, is a letter from Muscovite I. Vasilyev. In the opening lines he writes: "Since you are promising 'plain talking,' I ask you to publish the enclosed note. I shall take a refusal to publish it as a reminder that 'glasnost does not apply to everything or everyone.'" Such an introduction is bound to create the most principled and militant mood: You do not want to undermine the reader's faith in the changes produced by perestroyka. Nevertheless, we must disappoint Ivan Petrovich: We are not going to print his letter. This is why. He bases his arguments about "nominal" communists and the far from nominal harm that they cause the party, arguments which in principle are correct, on unsubstantiated and sometimes tactless attacks on specific party leaders. We, however, believe that the tasks and aims of the discussion that has begun are not the personal appraisal of particular individuals but a serious and constructive discussion on the fundamental changes in party life and the creation of the conditions under which communists will be able to have a decisive say, in particular on any nominees for leading party posts.

And the fruitful course of the discussion cannot possibly be helped by statements of the following type: "We do not have a party but a bunch of crooks." That comes from a letter written by Volgogradskiy Rayon resident A. Krivosheyev, a CPSU member since 1944 who, incidentally, does not give his address. Excuse us, but after that kind of thing we must remind people that plain talking is not the same as a market place squabble. That must be remembered.

And one other point should be cleared up right now. We will try to allocate as much space as possible for the discussion, but newspaper space is not unlimited. Therefore—do not take umbrage!—we will have to abridge your responses. At the same time, we would ask you to keep your letters to the point. But even so, clearly we will not be able to publish the letters of all who write: We will select the most interesting responses, those that do not repeat what has already been written and that contain constructive suggestions. Nevertheless, not one letter will be ignored. We will forward the entire discussion mailbag to the Moscow CPSU City Committee.

We would like to thank everyone in advance for taking part in the discussion now underway. We look forward to your letters.

TV President Explains Role of 'NIKA TV'

18300767 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 32, 12-18 Aug 89 p 7

[Report on interview with N. Lutsenko, president of NIKA TV and candidate of historical sciences, by unidentified ARGUMENTY I FAKTY reporter: "NIKA TV: Pluralism on the Airwaves?..."; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] **How soon will the new television company NIKA TV, which is independent from USSR Gosteleradio [USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting], be able to take its place in the Soviet mass media system? This is the question we addressed to N. Lutsenko, the president of NIKA TV and a candidate of historical sciences.**

[Lutsenko] I am against the term "alternative" television and prefer the concept of "public" television, which more accurately discloses the idea and mission of NIKA TV. We are not so much competitors with state television as kindred spirits. Moreover, it is almost impossible for public television, which exists on the basis of cost accounting and self-financing, to compete seriously with the state budget of a giant. Using such an analogy: We are capable of producing high quality individual products, thereby raising the demand for the level of product that comes off a conveyer line. Well, for example, we can spend 10 times more on the production of a video clip than is provided in state valuations, but then we will have material with which we will not be embarrassed at the world film clip competition.

NIKA TV will become a fully valuable means of mass information only when it will have its own permanent outlet to a broad audience. I think that it will be possible to speak of this seriously only after the publication of the USSR Law on the Mass Media and when the activity of journalists will be supported by a clear legal foundation.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] The production of a television program and the creation of video products requires large investments. Where do you intend to get the money for the purchase of equipment and high quality devices?

[Lutsenko] You only mentioned one aspect of television production—the expenditure side, but I would like to add that this production at the same time is one of the most profitable. It is true that we have just begun to realize this. By going out into the international market, one can and must make money on information. We will thereby kill two birds with one stone: first, the country will receive hard currency; and, second, this will satisfy the demand for truthful information about the USSR, which has jumped so sharply during the years of perestroyka. In other words, we are counting on the fact that NIKA TV will pay for itself not only in rubles, but in hard currency as well. Of course, the formation of the initial capital will require investments and donations, and long-term credits.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] And you think that Central Television is not very interested in active international cooperation?

[Lutsenko] On the contrary, CT [Central Television] not long ago even created a new structural subdivision—"Sovtelexport." But the demand for Soviet topics is so great that there is no need for competition, and now only an integration of forces is required. Moreover, in contacts with foreign colleagues I gained the impression that frequently they are not satisfied with what Gosteleradio offers them.

I will cite one example in order not to sound unsubstantiated. All international news programs wanted to have subject-matter on the last stage of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. What a surprise and disappointment it was for Western TV newsmen to see brand new and freshly washed vehicles instead of dusty vehicles covered with placards in the TV shots.

Of course, they take the CT material, because there is no one else to get it from. But since we talk more and more frequently about the market regulation of the economy, this means that it is necessary to also create a video information market. But in the meantime, instead of this, we have a departmental monopoly and the restrictive decrees of the Council of Ministers on video activity.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] How will the economic strategy of independent television be structured?

[Lutsenko] NIKA TV was conceived as a noncommercial public enterprise, and for precisely that reason we rejected the use of the Law on the Cooperative. Together with this, we should not count on someone's help, and therefore in our economic strategy we ran into the need for cost accounting and self-financing. One of the structural subdivisions of the television company, for example, will become engaged in concert activity and show business, and the other in advertising and mediation activity, etc.

NIKA TV is planning today, and not in the distant future, to develop cable television in the country. For the time being we do not have such experience on a national scale, although from time to time reports appear about opening up sectors of cable networks—for example, in the MZhK [presumably youth living facilities] or hotels. I would like to emphasize with all certitude: This is not in any way cable television yet, inasmuch as a qualitatively different television system on an autonomous basis has not been established. The main thing in cable television is its information saturation—it cannot be limited to a simple showing of movie films, and even more so to exist on the basis of what is culled from Gosteleradio.

Yes, cable television is highly profitable, and a long-term economic strategy can be built on it, but with one reservation: Its programs must be original. Otherwise, it will be the same trivial piracy that now flourishes under the conditions of a low legal culture and the absence of copyright protection.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Will not an independent television company turn into a regular bureaucratic organization?

[Lutsenko] The bureaucrat exists in every person. The conditions must be created so that this feature does not appear. In this connection I would like to share an interesting thought with you that I picked up in a book I read recently titled "The Renewal Factor: How the Best Companies Remain Competitive." The preface literally states the following: "The law of creative work, as distinct from executive work, is the impossibility of forcing it. The freedom from outside obligations, from concerns about earning a living, and, of course, from the sense of public exposure are the main conditions for creativity. Trifling regulations within a limited range, the imposition of ideas and tasks, and social precariousness kill creativity, and lower it to a level of non-competitiveness..." Thus, in my opinion, only democratization, respect for the opinion of each employee of NIKA TV, and the collegial resolution of important questions can save the day from bureaucratization.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] You were in the United States recently. What new ideas did you get in familiarizing yourself with American television?

[Lutsenko] Perhaps the freedom of choice is its principal feature. But, as is known, you must pay for freedom. Therefore, if you want to view not 5-7 channels but 50-70 channels, then you subscribe to cable television. Among the subscription channels are some that it would not be a bad idea to bring over here: For example, two 24-hour a day music channels, and also a direct transmission channel for all hearings from the U.S. Congress. And there is a channel through which you can make purchases, not leaving the home, which it would obviously be premature to adopt: We have a long way to go before we are overstocked.

Radiation Meters Being Produced in Belorussia

PM2807115189 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 11 Jul 89 p 1

[BELTA-attributed A. Volvachev report under the rubric "Express Information": "Radiation Meters in Series Production"]

[Text] Minsk—Scientists from Minsk, Gomel, Leningrad, Kerch, and Baranovichi participated in a competition for the best small individual dosimeter for ionizing radiation. Organized by the Belorussian Academy of Sciences on behalf of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist

Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers, this review revealed many interesting engineering and design solutions. The expert group selected just 10 of the 41 models.

The highest efficiency, reliability, and technological effectiveness were displayed by the "Sosna" beta-gamma radiation meter submitted by the inventors' collective of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences Nuclear Power Institute and the gamma-radiation meters created at the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences Applied Physics Institute and by Minsk Instrument-Making Scientific Research Institute. With their help, it is possible promptly and accurately to determine levels of surface radiation contamination and the amount of gamma radiation.

The "Radiometr" temporary creative collective of specialists of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences Institutes of Physics and Nuclear Power and of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences Central Design Bureau with Experimental Production has set about introducing the long-awaited developments. It is planned that the first batch of instruments will be produced by a Borisov enterprise already in August, and approximately 300 radiation meters will come off the production line before the end of the year. In 1990, when Gomel and Minsk enterprises will tackle this work, 15,000 such apparatuses will be produced.

By decision of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, the first experimental and installation series of radiation meters are being sent gratis to Gomel and Mogilev Oblast rayons.

Economic

Reasons for Foreign Debt Problems Examined

LD1908132489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0908 GMT 19 Aug 89

[From the "Countries of Socialism" program presented by commentator Oleg Vlasov with Prof Vladimir Mikhaylovich Shastitko, doctor of economic sciences and deputy director of the Institute of Economy of the World Socialist System]

[Excerpt] [Vlasov] I would like, Vladimir Mikhaylovich, to begin our talk with a quote. The weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY a few days ago carried an interview with Tamas Beck, Hungary's minister of trade. Here in particular is what the minister said in it, and I quote. He says: I do not know a single Hungarian enterprise that would not like to trade with the Soviet Union, but at the present time the Hungarian Government has been forced to apply extremely unpleasant measures with regard to the USSR. We do so very reluctantly, but unfortunately there is no other way, because at this moment we have a credit balance with your country of R366 million. In effect you have exceeded all possible bounds of credit, and we are not yet wealthy enough to engage in charity. Negotiations reached an impasse. Therefore, we were forced to reduce exports to the Soviet Union by 10-12 percent.

One could add to this that I have heard that our debt to Czechoslovakia is even higher, and one could continue these examples. In the light of all this let me ask you a question that does not beat around the bush. How have we reached a stage of life where we have become debtors, in effect, to small European socialist countries? What has occurred in our economic relations with them?

[Shastitko] First, this has not only occurred in relations with them. This has occurred in general in all our foreign trade in recent years. The point is that the structure of our trade-turnover, that is to say the structure first and foremost of our exports, is such that raw fuel materials comprise over 60 percent. This also applies to our supplies to Hungary. Our viewers are probably aware that in recent years oil prices have dropped sharply on world markets. We trade with all countries, including CEMA countries, taking account of world prices. Now we find ourselves with low prices. So we have low prices, but the volumes of deliveries which were agreed on for a 5-year period have remained the same, and since prices have dropped, our export earnings have correspondingly fallen too.

[Vlasov] Tell me, would it not have been possible somehow to anticipate this development and avoid it?

[Shastitko] Well, we did foresee this. We knew that prices had fallen and that they would also go down in our trade with CEMA countries. We did, of course, foresee this, but what could we do? We are unable to increase supplies of oil and gas and, say, iron ore and coal, because we simply do not have them. Consequently it would be necessary to supply machines and equipment and certain other manufactured products, but our industry is not yet ready to supply machines and equipment in such quantities and of such a quality that could cover these shortfalls in the amounts obtained from exports that have occurred as a result of the drop in prices. Even 2 years ago machines and equipment accounted in our exports for 16 percent. Now they account for less than 14 percent. There is a reduction in our exports of machines and equipment. It is being asked why this is. After all, we are a great industrial power. However, the fact is that the quality of our machines and equipment and their technical standards are still not at the point that would ensure their competitiveness, and our partners, even in the CEMA countries, are beginning to decline our machines and equipment. They are not up to world standards. [passage omitted]

Civilian Air Service Viewed at News Conference

LD2008204189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0047 GMT 20 Aug 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpt] Hello, comrades. On Sunday, 20 August our country is celebrating the USSR Air Fleet Day.

[Reporter A. Kozhukova] A news conference at the USSR Foreign Ministry has been devoted to this event. Representatives of the Ministry of the Aviation Industry, the Air Force, Aeroflot and of the DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Support of the Army, Aviation, and the Navy] Central Committee related at the meeting with journalists the transformations that have taken place under restructuring conditions in all spheres of activity connected with aviation. Aeroflot air routes connect 3,600 cities and major poulation points of the Soviet Union. Over 100 million passengers are carried within the Soviet Union each year. However, many just reproaches are made about Aeroflot's work, especially in the summer period. This is the only airline inside our country, and perhaps the principle of monopoly is precisely the reason for substantial shortcomings. [video shows news conference in progress]

[Begin recording] [S.Ye. Panyukov, first deputy minister of Civil Aviation] We do not entirely meet the requirements of the state and the country for transportation. The demand which is not satisfied is being evaluated by our research establishments, by our research establishments and by the state's [passage indistinct]. The unsatisfied demand fluctuates somewhere in the range of 15 million to 18 million people. This undoubtedly places a great responsibility on us, but also compels a well-considered (?solution) for problems connected with the economic viability of flights, with the introduction of more progressive aviation equipment, and also the question of the standards of service given to the public. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Agricultural

Ligachev Discusses Moscow Produce Supplies

PM2108100989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Moscow CPSU Gorkom Conference"]

[Text] A conference of secretaries of the central committees of a number of union republic communist parties and kray and oblast party committees [kraykoms and obkoms]; chairmen of union republic councils of ministers, kray and oblast soviet executive committees [krayispolkoms and oblispolkoms], agro-industrial committees, and consumer cooperative boards; and leaders of party, soviet, and economic organs of Moscow City and Moscow Oblast and individual ministries and departments was held in the Moscow City CPSU Committee [Gorkom] on 17 August.

At the conference, the state of and measures for the improvement of the provision of fruit, vegetables, and potatoes to the 16 million inhabitants of the capital and the Moscow area were examined.

The keynote speaker, V.T. Saykin, chairman of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee [gorispolkom], and other speakers at the conference—Yu.M. Khusaynov, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers; N.I. Kondratenko, chairman of the Krasnodar Krayispolkom; N.N. Zebolov, second secretary of the Bryansk CPSU Obkom; V.G. Surikov, general director of Moscow Oblast "Dmitrovskiy" Agro-Industrial Combine; Yu.A. Kolomiyets, first deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers; N.S. Konarev, USSR minister of railways; Yu.K. Mogilevets, first deputy chairman of Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers; I.N. Dyakov, first secretary of Astrakhan CPSU Obkomm; and others, gave reports on measures taken to increase production and delivery of fruit, vegetables, and potatoes to Moscow city and the organization of their storage and trade in the capital.

Summing up the conference, Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, noted that republic, kray, oblast, and Moscow city and Moscow oblast party, soviet, and economic organs have not yet managed to achieve a real improvement, or more importantly, to achieve regular supplies of these products to the capital's inhabitants.

The attention of local party committees and agro-industrial organs was drawn to the necessity of creating conditions for the extensive implementation of industrial technology for cultivating fruit, vegetables, and potatoes on every collective farm and state farm, assimilating economic methods of management, and increasing productivity in agricultural cultivation and improving output quality on this basis.

Moscow party, soviet, and economic organs were instructed to activate organizational and political work in the labor collectives of fruit, vegetable, and potato storage, processing, and trade enterprises. Particular attention is to be paid to organizing the re-equipping these enterprises, extending the trade network, and developing lease relations, economic accountability, and the contract system. Maximum attention must be paid to resolving urgent social problems of fruit and vegetable production workers.

The task has been set of creating an organizationally and economically up-to-date production system composed of wholesale bases in production and dispatch areas and places of consumption—Moscow and Moscow Oblast—including agricultural produce refrigeration, transportation, and processing systems. At the moment only some components of this system exist. The system is developing well in Moldavia, and is being introduced in Astrakhan Oblast.

In conclusion, Ye.K. Ligachev said: You must agree, comrades, that today we have examined a question that concerns the interests the population of not just the capital but also many regions of our country. Taking the people's interests into account and putting them into

practice is a policy. And this means that it is our concern. People will judge our work from the food counters, not in the distant future, but today or tomorrow. We must bear this in mind and not waste time.

V.P. Nikonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers; I.I. Skiba, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department; Yu.A. Prokofiyev and V.K. Belyaninov, secretaries of the CPSU Moscow Gorkom; A.T. Shamonin, secretary of the Moscow CPSU Obkom; I.M. Cherepanov, chairman of the Moscow Oblispolkom; and Yu.M. Luzhkov, first deputy chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom; took part in the work of the conference.

Hard-Currency Incentive for Grain Farmers Viewed

LD1908041489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Interview with Gennadiy V. Kulik, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR State Agro-Industrial committee, by Igor Zorin, on 18 August; presented by Yuriy Gordeyev; place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction—recorded]

[Text] [Gordeyev] This year's bread grain harvest has ripened. The crop turned out uneven. This leads us to another discussion on the care of what has grown. Besides, this year for the first time we have an additional incentive—the hard currency we used to trade abroad for bread grains can now become the property of our solicitous farmers. Listen to the conversation of our correspondent Igor Zorin with Gennadiy Vasilyevich Kulik, first deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] State Agro-Industrial Committee. But first, I must say comrades that there is another reason for his participation in our program. Our Stavropol correspondent in his morning report, when speaking about the new rules of grain purchase, said that the hard currency for bread can be obtained on the condition of meeting the state order. That statement was found to be in error. Gennadiy Vasilyevich phoned and informed the editorial office about this. As a result, he met with the correspondent.

[Begin recording] [Kulik] I consider this Council of Ministers decision to be introduced, as is known, in the form of an experiment for 2 years, 1989-1990, as a very radical attempt to install the most powerful economic lever for encouraging the collective and state farms to increase the production and sale of grain, mainly valuable varieties, to the state.

[Zorin] There is a lever, but there is no grain.

[Kulik] There would have been better performance if this decision had been made not in August but, shall we say, at the beginning of the year. First, it would have been possible to bring it to the attention of even a lessee. Today, I believe that this lever can come into play—it is possible to use other types of fodder and to sell part of the grain to the state. We do count on this.

[Zorin] Gennadiy Vasilyevich, people say that there are some restrictions, that supposedly it is connected with the plan, with the fulfilment of the State Order.

[Kulik] I would like listeners to pay special attention to this part of our conversation. A collective farm or a state farm sold to the state a certain quantity of, let us say, strong and valuable varieties of wheat in the 11th 5-Year Plan. This year they sold more. For this increase, which you actually have, you can get hard currency. How much of this increase you want paid in hard currency and how much in rubles will be decided by every collective and state farm. The government decided to give an incentive.

[Zorin] But the issue is about the foreign currency rubles [invalyutnyy rubl] and not, let us say, about dollars.

[Kulik] Yes, you are right, the government did the right thing because this is the most stable form of maintianing accounts—in foreign currency rubles, as different currencies fluctuate in relation to our accounting ruble. Let us say a dollar is about 34 percent below the hard currency ruble today. This gives a strong foundation to the farms from the point of view of proceeds from the handed-over bread-grain. It is said unequivocally in the decision that for grain the collective or state farm will get the entire sum owed to it.

[Zorin] Gennadiy Vasilyevich, are there any examples of someone who has already sold the grain for hard currency?

[Kulik] A considerable amount is being offered in Volgograd Oblast, Rostov Oblast, in the north Caucasus, in the Central Chernozem zone. Agrocombines have begun working actively in this respect. Well, the agrocombine Kuban, for example, will be able to market about R12 million worth of such produce. Overall, in the republic it will be possible to earn somewhere around 300-320 million in hard currency. [end recording]

Statistics on Progress of Harvest Reported

18240222 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 4 Aug 89 p 1

[Goskomstat Report: "The Rhythm of the Harvest"]

[Text] Reaping is in full swing in the country's fields. It is under way in all the union republics. According to the data of USSR Goskomstat [USSR State Committee for Statistics], by the beginning of August, the grain and leguminous crops (excluding corn) were cut over an area comprising 39.7 million hectares, and were threshed over 35.7 million hectares. This is 34 percent of the

entire planted area. The increase in threshed crops for last week reached 11.2 million hectares. In the Russian Federation almost one-third of the crops have been harvested; in the Ukraine, 85 percent; Belorussia, 48 percent; Moldavia, 96 percent; Kazakhstan, 10 percent; Lithuania, 39 percent; Latvia, 31 percent; Estonia, 30 percent.

As has happened previously, the farms feel the insufficiency of material and equipment resources. Instances of combines standing idle because of equipment problems are not infrequent. Some 5,600 vehicles have not yet been sent to the Altayskiy Kray, and 1,200 have not been sent to Orenburg Oblast. There have been interruptions in the delivery of fuel and lubrication materials. A total of 111,000 metric tons of diesel fuel was not supplied according to schedule to the Mariyskaya and Mordovskaya ASSR's [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], Kaluga and Smolensk Oblasts.

The sale of wheat to the state continues. The kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] of Voronezh and Orel Oblasts, and the Kalmyk ASSR have managed to meet the annual order. Many farms, having fulfilled the state order, are shipping supplemental grain at increased prices. The laying-in of grain is in progress; fodder and foodstuffs funds are being created. The shipment of seed has begun from the Ukraine, Belorussia, the northern Caucasus and the Central Chernozem oblasts to areas which were suffering drought.

The situation with allocation of cars for shipping grain from the Kuban, the Don, Stavropol, and many oblasts in the Ukraine has not changed for the better. For this reason, vehicles are standing idle at the grain elevators for significant periods.

Common flax has dried out over 200,000 hectares. Gathering of vegetables and fruits and their shipment to industrial centers is under way in fields and orchards.

The farms' machine operators are preparing the soil for the impending winter sowing.

Sown and natural grasses have been mowed on over 58.4 million hectares, an area somewhat smaller than at this same time last year. Hay, haylage, and silage are being prepared. Feed calculated at 55.3 million metric tons of feed-units has been stored; this is 35 percent of the plan.

18-20 Aug Agricultural Developments Reported

LD2108042189

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 18-20 August. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

18 August

Things are not working out for the fodder farmers of Uzbekistan. Nearly 1 million tonnes less fodder than last year have been prepared to date for state farm and collective farm livestock. The situation with silage evokes particular alarm. The agricultural year is ending and the stocks of this valuable nutrient are less than 10 percent of the normal level for a number of oblasts. (0204)

Altay Kray: Bread-grain (khleba) has been reaped on 500,000 hectares. It is predominantly winter crops and peas (ozimyye i gorokh). Threshing of rye and winter wheat is nearing completion. The winter crop yield is "not bad" - around 20 quintals per hectare. (1800)

19 August

A sharp signal has come in from Kuzbass. Bread grains have ripened earlier than usual in the Siberian fields. In Kemerovo Oblast farms, where good harvest weather has settled in, each hectare yields today at least 20 quintals of grain. However, the harvest is carried out with difficulty, due to an acute shortage of fuel and spare parts. The second decade of August is drawing to an end, but only one quarter of the petrol from the norm and one tenth of diesel fuel from the norm is available. A similar picture exists in the Leninsk-Kuznetskiy Rayon. In the Promyshlennovskiy Rayon, the biggest agricultural rayon of Kuzbass, each fifth combine harvester did not go to the fields due to lack of batteries. Of the 600 air filters needed for combine harvesters, only 30 have been received. In the meantime bread grains are over-ripening and farms are powerless to prevent the losses. (0600)

The mass harvesting of bread grain crops has been completed in Stavropol Kray. To date over 250,000 tonnes of above-plan grain has been delivered. (0800)

Harvesting has just begun in the Transbaykal area. All told, bread-grain crops have been grown in Chita Oblast on an area of about 1 million hectares. (0800)

20 August

According to the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic State Committee for Statistics, grain has been harvested on 1.5 million hectares in the past week. The drought has resulted in a stunted crop that must be harvested with care to avoid excessive losses. To date around 5 million tonnes of grain have been delivered to the republic's threshing floors. (0300)

Ryazan Oblast: 500,000 tonnes of grain have been laid in so far. In addition, more than 130,000 tonnes have been handed over in exchange for mixed feed. (0100)

The bread grain harvest has been completed in Stavropol Kray. Approximately 250,000 tonnes of grain over the state plan target has been delivered to the state procurement points. Sales of grain to the state are continuing. (0104)

The Tambov Oblast harvest campaign ends today. Rain hindered harvest operations, but the farmers have taken in a harvest that exceeds last year's. Almost 650,000 tonnes of grain have been delivered to the procurement points, which is two-thirds of the state order. Grain procurements are continuing.

Agricultural workers in Kuybyshev Oblast have passed the 2 million tonne mark in threshing the harvested grain. A total of 550,000 tonnes of grain has already been sold to the state, half of it consisting of durum and valuable wheat types.

The harvest in Smolensk Oblast is taking place under difficult conditions. Torrential rain at the end of July bent and flattened the grain crops. In some fields combine harvesters have to be towed by two tractors. Yesterday, 120 machine operators arrived from Krasnodar to help. Another 140 will follow. (1500)

Scientific

Space Chief Cited on Mars Expedition

LD2108101589 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] With large-scale international cooperation a manned expedition to Mars could take place already by the year 2015 or by 2017. Such is the opinion of Aleksandr Dunayev, in charge of the Soviet space agency. In an interview for Radio Moscow he said Soviet specialists are now exchanging views on ways of implementing that stupendous project with their counterparts in the United States, Japan, the European Space Agency, and in other countries and organizations. Aleksandr Dunayev said the Soviet Union could alone organize a manned flight to Mars, but that would require more time and more funds.

Background, Future of Space Technology Viewed

LD2008175189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondent S. Slipchenko, with recorded comments by Minister Oleg Nikolayevich Shishkin]

[Text] [Announcer] What will our country's space program be in the year 2000? A discussion on this subject has been held at the General Machine Building Ministry.

[Slipchenko] Previously many people did not know of the existence of such a ministry. But now Minister Oleg Nikolayevich Shishkin has given the following explanation of the need for an expanded collegium.

[Begin Shishkin recording] We consider that taking part in the discussion of the space program should include wide circles of our scientific public, and those organizations which are the consumers for space information. [video shows Shishkin addressing meeting] [end recording]

[Slipchenko] Rockets, satellites, instruments—it seemed that both the people and the factories of this sector knew no deprivations in anything, and were living on the fat of the land. They had priority in everything, and got everything without restrictions. That is how things were 30 years ago, when the country's missiles shield was being created. But the situation had already changed long ago, although the stereotypes of thinking have remained. Here, too, there is a shortage of electronics, dyestuffs, and plastics. [video shows Proton rocket standing on launching pad] Here is an example. The resources of this launching pad have already been worked out, and the main thing in the new conditions of the economy, it is the financing of programs that comes first: [video returns to meeting and Shishkin]

[Begin Shishkin recording] Each of the interested parties should, at home—at the scientific councils, or, as appropriate, in the Academy of Sciences Presidium, at collegia of other consumer ministries—they should discuss these matters and elaborate the optimal structure for our space programs, that's the first thing. Second: Everyone, particularly consumers, should research and get to grips with the question of financing. [end recording]

[Slipchenko] Let us take a look—what has space given us? For their own needs—and now the achievements of the sector are open to all—new materials, methods, mathematical models were created, which can successfully control both the flight of a spacecraft, and, for example, road construction in the non-chernozem zone. Being rational with the greatest effect—herein lies the double benefit from space. First, a satellite's view from above of fields, continents, towns, pollution and fires—this raises the effectiveness of operations tens, hundreds of times. And second, the use of space materials not only in rockets, but in household machines, in conventional industry. The critics say that this will be expensive, but how often have we skimped in the recent period, made things any old how, lacking in durability and quality? For a long time the rest of the world has already been considering quality and the organization of production using our space criteria. Chief designers of design bureaux and factories have shown that there are developments of new space equipment at the present time, but will they be financed by those who need to have maps of land moisture, of the degree of harvest ripeness, of regions of forest disease, and much more besides that makes management of the economy rational? Will ministries and departments order satellites for themselves? Are they not at the present time, by departmental thinking, lagging behind the technical possibilities of the space sector? We can renounce a great deal at the current time, but it is more difficult— and the main thing—

more expensive, to stop programs and cooperation than to retain it and continue the progressive work that has already been begun. [video shows shots of satellites, Buran, rockets under construction, then cuts back to meeting]

[Begin Shishkin recording] I repeat once again that this will be conditioned by our country's social needs, and accordingly, of course, by the international commitments which you will (?recall). [end recording]

[Slipchenko] The broad discussion of the space program is only just beginning. [video shows closing shot of launch pad at sunset]

1960's Moon Race With U.S. Called 'Hindrance'

LD1808180389 Moscow TASS in English 1744 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 18 TASS—The Soviet Union in the 1960's adopted a manned lunar landing program but the moon race with the Americans proved a hindrance rather than a catalyst and the death of one chief designer and the change of another stopped the project altogether, a Soviet daily reported today.

The newspaper IZVESTIYA said that outstanding Soviet rocketry designer Sergey Korolev counted on landing compatriots on the moon and worked vigorously to provide a required booster rocket.

A 1960 government decision called for developing such a rocket, codenamed N1, for a payload of 40 to 50 tons by 1964, but the project was then reviewed almost every year until an expert commission in November 1966 approved a plan for a lunar mission using a booster capable of lifting 95 tons.

The plan provided for landing one cosmonaut on the moon, while the other was to remain in lunar orbit.

The unwarranted moon race with the Americans, who were in the midst of a comparable program, unsteadied the Soviet effort which was also hit by problems of a subjective nature, IZVESTIYA said.

While Korolev wanted N1 to have an oxygen-and-hydrogen motor, academician Valentin Glushko, the main developer of rocket motors, believed that fluorine, nitric acid, dimethylhydrazine and other extremely toxic chemicals would make better fuel components.

Respective motors were eventually devised and four trial launches had been carried out by the autumn of 1972 [date as received].

So it came as a complete surprise for all when work on N1 was first frozen and then abandoned altogether following the replacement of chief designer Vasiliy Mishin, who succeeded Korolev after the latter died in 1966, with Glushko.

Glushko suggested a new concept which has led to the Soviet shuttle Buran and the Energiya booster of practically the same thrust as the rejected N1.

IZVESTIYA commented that the fate of the aborted lunar expedition and N1 reflected the painful problems of the entire Soviet society, including excessive politisation of science, substitution of sham goals for worthy ones, voluntarism, and lack of collective decision-making on crucial issues.

Process of Closing Defense Nuclear Reactor Viewed

LD1808183489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 18 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A reactor for the production of fissionable materials has been halted at one of the large-scale defense enterprises of Chelyabinsk Oblast.

[Begin recording] [Sergeyev] A film crew from the "Vremya" program has for the first time received the opportunity to visit this carefully guarded and, until quite recently, completely secret installation. [video shows correspondent Sergey Sergeyev dressed in white coat and headgear in a control room]

The situation in the world was different 40 years ago, and at that time there was a requirement to create a reliable atomic shield for the country. It came into being here in the South Urals under the leadership of Igor Vasilyevich Kurchatov. The first apparatuses were built for the production of fissionable materials for atomic weapons, including this reactor that has just been halted. Soon they had manufactured and tested the nuclear bomb.

Now for peaceful purposes our country is halting reactors that are operating for military potential. [video shows views of reactor, the control room, building exterior, statue of Kurchatov; Sergeyev interviewing V.I. Sadovnikov, director of the reactor works, identified by caption]

The reactor has been halted. What are your personnel now doing?

[Sadovnikov] A reactor is a complicated complex. To silence it means to halt the nuclear reaction in accordance with the operating time of the plutonium. Then this plutonium needs to be unloaded, and we are now engaged on this. Then a whole series of pereparatory operations have to be performed in order to mothball the reactor. This will take something in the order of 3-4 years. Then for about 20 years we must keep all the structures so that their pernicious effect does not affect the environment and the people who live in the given

area. Only then will we set about mothballing the reactor and dismantling equipment. In the opinion of our own and foreign specialists this entire process all told is due to take about 30-35 years.

[Sergeyev] What is the fate of the people who are released during the conversion of military production? Some of the highly qualified personnel who are released have been sent to work at atomic power stations that are already operating. There are also plans to organize the production of radio-isotopes for the requirements of the national economy, light conductors, and and stable-magnet motors. However this can provide occupation for only a minority of the unemployed atomic workers. [video shows pictures of atomic workers]

[Sadovnikov] I believe the problems of utilizing such specialists must concern not us alone. It is a state problem that must be resolved, in my view, at the level not just of our industry but at the level of the Supreme Soviet and of the Communist Party Central Committee, because to disperse such high-class specialists is, I think, too much of an impermissble luxury for our country in its present condition. [end recording]

Military

Air Force Commander Discusses Air Forces' Day

LD2008165889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1007 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Statement by Marshal of Aviation Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yefimov, commander-in-chief of the Soviet Air Force, followed by interview with Yefimov by correspondent V.A. Medvedev; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Yefimov] Dear comrades! Today is a national holiday, USSR Air Forces' Day. Soviet aviation is our common pride and glory; it is the embodiment of the achievements of science and technology and the cradle of cosmonautics.

The creation of a mighty air force which reliably stands guard over the air borders of our homeland is a bright page in the life of the Soviet state and of its Armed Forces. The emergence of Soviet aviation is inseparably linked with the Great October, the work of the Communist Party, and the name of Vladimir Ilich Lenin. In giving the air fleet enormous significance in defense and in the national economy, Lenin and the party declared the building of it to be a task of primary importance and surrounded it with nationwide concern so that it might spread its powerful wings. And its wings grew stronger and smoothed themselves out.

Already in the years of the civil war, the Red Air Fleet was a serious force of the Red Army of peasants and workers. The pilots of the Red Air Force selflessly defended on all fronts the power of the soviets, displaying mass heroism in battles with the enemies. The Soviet Air Force developed rapidly after the defeat of the hordes of White Guards and interventionists. In 1923, the Council of Labor and Defense passed its decree setting up the Council of Civil Aviation. The process of providing the country with air services began. In the extremely short period of 20 years, our country became a strong air power. Its air force occupied a firm place in the system of the Armed Forces and became a powerful means of defending the socialist fatherland. The thirties were a time of outstanding achievement for the Soviet Air Forces: world records for flight altitude, speed and distance; air history's first landings of aircraft at the north pole; the matchless exploit of the airmen who took part in the rescue of the crew of the icebreaker Chelyuskin; very long distance intercontinental flights; and the deeds of Soviet airmen in battle over Spain, China, and Mongolia. Our airmen always demonstrated to the whole world their high professional skill, daring, and strength of spirit. One hundred eighty heroes of the Soviet Union, four of them twice: and that was before the Great Fatherland War.

But the creation and development of Soviet aviation has not been a chain of uninterrupted victories and triumphs. Along the way there have been serious difficulties, unsolved tasks, and tragedies. The Great Fatherland War put the air force to a very hard test. In the exceedingly difficult conditions of its initial period, the party Central Committee and the Soviet government drew up and implemented a program for strengthening the air force. A great role was played in this by the achievement of technical superiority over the enemy. The path to victory was difficult, but that victory was steadily and irreversibly achieved. It was achieved in each of the 3 million combat takeoffs, in each air combat, operation, and air battle. In the air on the airfields, our air force destroyed 57,000 enemy aircraft. Soviet pilots dropped more than 30 million bombs on the enemy, causing huge losses of personnel and equipment. But these impressive figures from the harsh statistics of war are not all that is important. Also important are the major operational and strategic achievements of the Soviet air force and its active participation in all the key battles of the last war. Our air force, as a powerful branch of the Armed Forces and the most mobile, had a substantial influence on the outcome not only of particular operations, but also of the war as a whole. Soviet airmen did their duty for their country, and the homeland has greatly appreciated that great act of military heroism. Over 200,000 of them have been awarded orders and medals, and the best of the best have been honored with the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. Orders were won by 60 percent of the air force units and formations, 346 of which have been given the title Gvardeyskiye; 708 units have had conferred upon them the honorific names of cities in the battles for which they distinguished themselves.

An enormous contribution was made to the development and creation of the weapons of our victory by the workers of the design bureaus of Yakovlev, Ilyushin, Lavochkin, Petlyakov, and Tupolev. The selfless toil of

engineers, technicians, and workers of the aviation industry is immeasurable. The postwar period has given a powerful new boost to the development of our air fleet and to the creation of new aviation technology. In the shortest possible time, a fundamentally new combat air force of jet aircraft was created: supersonic, all-weather, intercontinental, and missile-carrying. Civil aviation, too, was qualitatively renewed. The achievements of the Soviet people in creating its air fleet would have been still more impressive but for the hasty and ill-considered measures of the early sixties and the stagnation which arose in our country in the seventies.

The successful implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and of the 19th party conference, and the orientation of the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies, will undoubtedly enable our aviation to conquer new heights.

Although international tension has eased considerably, and the positive changes are self-evident, there are still no guarantees of their irreversibility. In such a situation, it is only by acquiring new qualities that our air force will preserve its role in maintaining military-strategic stability in the world and performing the tasks of defense in case of aggression.

Today, the process of reducing the armed forces is having an inevitable effect on plans for its development. Unilateral reduction and the hope that relations with the West will develop favorably give us no right at all to expect any lowering of the demands made on the combat readiness of the airforce. On the contrary, it is a question of raising it on the basis of qualitative parameters.

Many of the problems of the life and work of the air force go far beyond its confines. Thousands of threads connect the airmen with the life of the whole people and of society as a whole. We feel the constant concern and help of the party, local soviet, trade union and Komsomol bodies, of the organizations of the DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy], of the collectives of working people for the military airmen, for preparing the young for military service and for the ordering of heroic-patriotic and patronage work [shevskaya rabota]. While expressing our gratitude and appreciation for all this, we would like to hope for greater involvement on their part in tackling the problems of social and cultural amenities in the air force, especially in the matter of housing for the families of officers and warrant officers. We also hope that they will show consideration and concern for servicemen relegated to the reserve as part of the reduction of armed forces. We also hope that we can work together more actively in the military-patriotic and international education of the young; that there will be a radical improvement in the training of aviation specialists, including flying instruction and selection for the air force academies.

From 1990, specialized air force schools will be opening in eight of our country's cities: Barnaul, Bryansk, Gorkiy, Kirovograd, Krasnodar, Krasnoyarsk, Mogilev, and Sverdlovsk. Each of them will train up to 300 boys of the ninth and tenth grades. Their training will be accompanied by flying practice at local flying clubs, using training aircraft. After completion of the specialized schools, they will go straight in to the higher education establishments of the air force. From the leaders of the party bodies in those towns, oblasts, and krays we expect practical help in solving the whole range of issues concerning the work of the specialized schools.

On this festive day, the pilots and navigators and all the air force specialists assure the Central Committee of the party of Lenin, the Soviet Government, and our people that they will not spare themselves in ensuring the necessary level of combat readiness, and that they will reliably stand guard over the gains of socalism and the sacred borders of our homeland.

[Medvedev] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, why do you have on your desk a model of the Il-2 low-flying attack aircraft?

[Yefimov] The Il-2 represents my young days in the war. When I was a boy of 19, I started fighting, and spent the war in that plane, until the day of victory.

[Medvedev] You mentioned in your talk that special air force schools are to be set up for boys of the ninth and tenth grades. Will they be like those old schools, for example, that we had before the war, with their own uniform, a special curriculum, and so on? Could you tell us a bit more about it?

[Yefimov] Yes, the specialized schools will be along the lines of the specialized schools of the prewar period. They will have their own uniform—dark blue with light blue stripes on the trousers. They will have flying practice; they will fly the planes—training planes. In other words, these will be educational establishment which will train cadres in the interests of the air force. We are pinning great hopes on them. The young men who will go through these specialized schools will be professionally-minded; they will know what the air force is all about.

[Medvedev] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, a question of another kind: You have talked about cuts in the armed forces, and in particular, the cuts may of course affect the air force. How will you deal with this problem? Because pilots, after all, are specific people.

[Yefimov] Of course, the cuts will apply to the air force. But we consider that we will be cutting, and relegating to the reserve, in the first instance officers who have completed their fixed term of service and have certain benefits and a pension; so as far as airmen who have not completed their service are concerned, we will retain

them. Airmen are our heritage, our wealth, as they say. They are special people. Yes, we understand that training a pilot is an expensive business.

[Medvedev] The titles merited military pilot and merited military navigator have now been abolished. How do you feel about this?

[Yefimov] The actual introduction of these titles—the titles of merit, merited military pilot, and military navigator—was a recognition of the very difficult and dangerous work of the military pilot and navigator. We think is was wrong to abolish these titles, and we hope the Supreme Soviet will reconsider the decision. You cannot compare the work of a military pilot or military navigator, especially now that the technology is so complex, with the work of any other military man. Therefore, the pilots and navigators deserve to be awarded these state decorations.

[Medvedev] In other words, abolition of these titles amounts to a specific form of reducing the prestige of the airman. Surely that is not right?

[Yefimov] It certainly is not! The prestige of the military profession and the prestige of the flying profession is beginning to decline. I think we have got to do all we can to ensure that young men join the air force and enter this very complex military sphere. Without an influx of young men, without enthusiasm, it is impossible to live and work in the air force. It is hard, difficult, and dangerous work; therefore, it should be appreciated by the people and the government.

[Medvedev] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, you are also a deputy of the Supreme Soviet, and you probably remember that at one of the last sessions there was much discussion about whether we need so many holidays. Would you comment on this, please?

[Yefimov] I have to say that perhaps there are some holidays that could be abolished—departmental ones. But as regards Air Fleet Day, this is an historic holiday. It originated in an idea of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, and our people have always kept this holiday.

Dear comrade pilots and navigators! Engineers and technicians! Junior aviation specialists! Glorious veterans of the air force and civil aviation! Esteemed scientists and workers of Aeroflot and the aircraft industry! On USSR Air Forces' Day, I congratulate you all most cordially on this holiday of the whole people. I wish you great successes in your work for the good of our Soviet homeland. Good health to you, happiness, and prosperity!

Shaposhnikov Addresses Air Forces' Day Ceremony

PM2008143789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "To Mark Holiday"]

[Text] A festive meeting of representatives of Moscow's public and servicemen from the capital's garrison was held 18 August to mark USSR Air Forces' Day.

The presidium included V.M. Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; leaders of a number of ministries and departments; military leaders; representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations; USSR cosmonaut airmen; and Air Force veterans.

Addressing the meeting, Lieutenant General of Aviation Ye.I. Shaposhnikov, first deputy commander of Air Forces, emphasized that military airmen, in single combat rank with soldiers of the other branches of USSR Armed Forces, will continue to reliably guard our motherland's air borders.

Interviewed on Air Force Cuts

LD2008222589 Moscow International Service in Czech 1700 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Interview with Lieutenant General Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, first deputy commander in chief of the USSR Air Force, by unidentified presenter; date, place of interview not given—recorded; Shaposhnikov speaks in Russian with superimposed Czech translation]

[Excerpts] [Presenter] The third Sunday in August—and this year it's 20 August—is the day on which our country celebrates Soviet Air Forces' Day. In this context we invited to the studio 48-year-old Lieutenant General Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, first deputy commander in chief of the Air Force, and asked him to answer a few questions.

You've just come back from a flight. Your daily training sessions clearly help you keep in good form. Isn't this difficult, when the rapid development of science and technology in the last few years has led to fundamental changes in the Air Force? What is the state of the Soviet Union's Air Force today?

[Shaposhnikov] Let me say right away that the Air Force has altered in a qualitative way. Today the Air Force is the most dynamic and perhaps the most intellectual arm of the Soviet armed forces. The basis of the Air Force's combat forces is new-generation aircraft, and these are quite well known in the world: They are the MiG-29, the Su-27, Su-25, and others. [passage omitted]

[Presenter] What is the priority today in the Air Force, the reliability of the aircraft, or the reliability of the man? What are today's air force pilots like?

[Shaposhnikov] Priority is given to a combination of reliability of both aircraft and men. New technology needs new men, new qualities in their training. In my view, the more complicated the aircraft, the more important the human factor. [passage omitted]

[Presenter] Comrade general, tell us something about your career as a pilot. How did you come to fall in love with the sky?

[Shaposhnikov] I grew up near Rostov-on-Don. By coincidence our house was right underneath the local flying club's pilot zone. Light aircraft performed miracles every day, showing maneuvers demanding great piloting skills, and I couldn't fail to be affected by this. I became hooked on aviation once and for all, and the idea of becoming an Air Force pilot drove me on and made me happy.

[Presenter] In harmony with Soviet initiatives, a large quantity of aircraft are being scrapped. Doesn't this run counter to the principle of defense sufficiency? How are the cuts being made?

[Shaposhnikov] That's right. The unilateral Soviet initiatives on reducing the levels of armed forces also envisage cuts in the Air Force. Here it should be said that the air forces of the other Warsaw Pact countries are being cut, too. This is all taking place in the framework of our defensive military doctrine. We are banking on raising the qualitative parameters of the aircraft and improving pilot training. A characteristic feature here is the new Su-27 fighter, which I mentioned earlier. The cuts are being made in a planned manner: Over 2 years the number of combat aircraft is to be cut by 800.

[Presenter] this country's Air Force is currently being restructured. What direction is this taking?

[Shaposhnikov] New ways are urgently being sought to attain high end results, particularly an increase in the Air Force's fighting potential in the framework of our defensive doctrine. The process of democratizing the life of military collectives is growing stronger, there is an active struggle under way against all kinds of showing off [predvadeni se], oversimplification and excessive tolerance.

[Presenter] Our last question. The Air Force is one component of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. In your view, how is combat cooperation between pilots of the socialist states' armed forces reflected?

[Shaposhnikov] The socialist armed forces' pilots are interlinked by many bonds of friendship and mutual interaction, whose roots go back a long way in the history of our nations' joint struggle against fascism during World War II. Today new trends are appearing under restructuring, particularly wider contacts between the fraternal countries' pilots—not just joint exercises and exchange of experience. The Warsaw Pact's military pilots are linked by firm friendship, including deep personal friendships. The pilots and their families make friends with one another, and often go on holiday together. It is just these close contacts and our common goals and interests which enable us to staunchly guard peace and socialism.

Air Display at Tushino Air Show Reported

LD2008130989 Moscow TASS in English 1047 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 20 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy:

Aviation days, celebrated in the Soviet Union every August since the mid-30s, by tradition are marked by air shows in Tushino, north-west Moscow.

This year, too, almost 150,000 spectators and a multimillion television audience watched a big three-hour show.

The show was opened by Yak-52 planes which formed the letters "SSSR" (USSR) in the sky. They were followed by a group of helicopters with the Soviet state flags, and combat aircraft.

Then parachutists formed various kinds of figures in the sky and performed a joint jump from a low altitude, which required absolute coordination of action and exceptional techniques, let alone courage.

Almost half of all parachute jumping records registered by the International Aeronautical Federation were set by Soviet sportsmen.

Aerobatics culminated the show. The Su-26 plane seems to be designed specially for aerobatics as it allows the pilot fly it any way he likes.

Spectators also saw a simulated dogfight of L-29 planes and flights on gliders, hang gliders and balloons.

Yazov, Lao Leader, Others Attend

LD2008153489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Excerpts] There were festivities today the like of which Moscow not seen since July 1967. A demonstration of the domestic aviation industry's achievements and of the high skills of test pilots, military pilots, Aeroflot crews, and sports aviators of the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy—that was the air display over the capital's Tushino Airport. [passage omitted]

Comrades Slyunkov, Chebrikov, Talyzin, and Yazov were on the central stand. Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the Lao People's Democratic Republic Council of Ministers, was among the

guests. The festival was attended by deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, heads of ministries and departments, outstanding military leaders, and representatives of party, local soviet, and public organizations.

Moscow TV Report

LD2008144689

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0655 GMT on 20 August begins carrying a live relay on the Tushino Air Show by presenters Malyavin and Elin.

The presenter reports from Moscow's Tushino aerodrome, where thousands of Muscovites have gathered for the air show, that today is USSR Air Forces' Day. While waiting for the show to start, the presenter identifies the air designers who will be watching and commenting on the aircraft: Rostislav Appolonovish Belyakov, general designer of the Mikoyan design bureau, famed for the MiG-25 and MiG-29; Mikhail Petrovich Simonov, designer at the Sukhoy bureau, for the Su-27; Sergey Viktorovich Mikheyev, designer at the Kamov bureau, for Ka helicopters; Aleksey Nikolayevich Ivanov, chief designer at the Mil bureau, for Mil helicopters; and Sergey Aleksandrovich Yakovlev, deputy general designer at the Yakovlev bureau, for Yak-52 aircraft.

At 0700 the Yak-52 aircraft fly overhead. Ivanov comes to the microphone to talk about Mil helicopters which are widely used in the socialist countries. Mi-2 helicopters then fly past.

At 0702 the party and state leaders arrive in the box to watch the show. Video shows Chebrikov, Yazov, and Slyunkov.

At 0703 AN-2 aircraft fly past and a parachute drops bearing the flags of the union republics. At 0705 parachute expert (T. Khachenko) describes the sight of parachutists landing. At 0707 There are helicopter aerial views of Tushino and Moscow and the airfield, where about 150,000 people are said to have gathered. At 0708 glider aerobatics are shown as the presenter talks about the history of flight in the USSR and in particular the feats of glider pilot (Kolesnikov).

At 0711 Yak-52 aircraft fly in formation. Designer Yakovlev comments on the uses of the Yak-52 as a training aircraft, and as a sports, civilian and military aircraft. He notes that the Yak-38, a vertical take-off aircraft which is on show but not flying today is unique in the USSR Air Force and is used for special training, for example of cosmonauts. He says the Yakovlev design bureau is working on the next generation of aircraft, which will be possibly faster, but certainly cheaper. He notes that to be shown later in the program the Yak-55, is used as a sports aircraft.

At 0714 the presenter says that one of the sensation's of the show, the Myasishchev 3MT flies in, bearing a 44-meter long fuel tank of the Engergiya rocket.

At 0718 an Il-96-300 aircraft flies over.

According to the presenter, the Tu-204 will replace the older Tu-154 and will be the most economical Aeroflot passenger plane, followed by the Ka-27. At 0720 Designer Sergey Viktorovich Mikheyev talks about the capabilities of the Ka-32, which can fly on one engine, and says the Ka-32 is the largest helicopter which is used a lot for construction work.

At 0723 The interceptor MiG-25 shows its pace, mostly behind the clouds. The Su-25 made a hit at the Paris Air Show, according to the presenter. Mikhail Petrovich Simonov talks about the aircraft and its maneuvers while the training version flies overhead. At 0726 Designer Ivanov comments that the Mi-26 helicopter can lift 20 tons. Next on the field is the Mi-28, noted for its maneuverability and expected to be used for border guard purposes notes Ivanov. Foreign firms are taking a great interest in it, as the most maneuverable combat helicopter, Ivanov claims.

At 0730 the Tu-160, the supersonic strategic bomber with a radius of 8,000 km, flies overhead. At 0731 the chief designer of the Mikoyan bureau extends congratulations on the air fleet holiday as the MiG-29 shows it pace. Most of these are out of sight, behind the clouds. The aircraft crash in Paris is described. At 0735 the Mi-24 and Su-27 aircraft fly in formation. There is a commentary on the tactical uses of such military formations, with Su-27's flying at low speeds with the helicopter. Simonov talks about the test pilot.

At 0743 an amphibious albatross is shown followed by MiG-29's in formation. At 0749 archive footage of the first Soviet aircraft and highlights of the history of flight in the USSR are shown.

At 0756 Su-26M sports aircraft are shown performing feats. Simonov talks about the sport aircraft made by the bureau and the techniques of flying them and performing aerobatics. Presenters discuss the virtues of Soviet air champions and the problems which women pilots have. Moscow air club teams are shown in parachute formations.

At 0817 gliders go up in formation, with Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy [DOSAAF] Lithuanian aeroclub. At 0825 Mi-2's fly in sports formations. The Mi-34 is now undergoing trials, Ivanov comments. Mikheyev says the latest from his bureau is the Ka-126, with a gas turbine engine and the (?-62) and Ka-118 which are for national economy use. Both the Ka and Mi bureaus are operating toward conversion now, with the emphasis on use in the national economy, he notes.

At 0830 there is a parachute display hampered by high winds. At 0836 home-built aircraft take to the air. A bi-plane is followed by other flying machines. Delta-planes fly by. At 0849 L-39 training aircraft fly in formation. The designers discuss the need for more aircraft for DOSAAF and amateurs in general, and for more attention to be paid to aviation. the presenter ends by praising the fact that all civil and military aircraft are now being shown and notes that this is a positive sign of the times.

At 0858 there is a mass parachute drop.

Foreign Observers Arrive for Belorussian Exercise

LD1808150489 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Minsk August 18 TASS—Forty-five military observers from 23 countries—participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe—have arrived in Belorussia under the document of the Stockholm Conference and at the invitation of the Soviet Government to attend a troop exercise. They began their work on Friday.

During the exercise which is taking place in the area of Dubrovo, Shatsk, Berezino, and Ulla, the opposing forces involved in the exercise are practicing functions of management and cooperation and polishing field training.

Further on Exercise

LD1808215889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Excerpt] The Belorussian Military District exercises are continuing in the area between Minsk and Borisov in Belorussia. Our special correspondent Aleksandr Korshunov is accredited to the maneuvers headquarters, and he is now on the line:

[Korshunov] The exercises are moving toward a crucial point: any moment now active operations will begin between the northern and southern enemies divided by a hypothetical frontline. Let me remind you, by the way, that the troops' main task is to work out defensive operations. In other words, these exercises are neither sabre-rattling nor generals' games but measures of, I would say, a military-scientific nature, the very purpose of which is to help to draw up clear criteria for defense tactics and strategy. One other important aspect is that military activities are now strongly affected by the overall improvement in the international climate and, particularly, the clear relaxation of tension in Europe. [passage omitted]

Shabanov Views Defense Industry, Conversion

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[Article by USSR People's Deputy Army General V. Shabanov, USSR deputy defense minister for armaments: "The Country's Defense: New Approaches"]

[Text] The USSR defense budget and also the program announced by our government for reducing military spending are at the center of attention of not only Western commentators but also the majority of Soviet people. In conditions of broad glasnost a debate is under way about whether it is possible to ensure that the country's defense costs less yet at the same time is reliable.

So R77.3 billion have been appropriated for this year. Is this a lot or a little? For instance, you might compare this figure to U.S. military spending, which exceeds $300 billion, and conclude that our budget is considerably smaller in both absolute and relative terms. The sum will not seem all that colossal either if you compare it with certain "projects of the century" that have never yielded the proper effect for the national economy, despite enormous expenditure.

It is appropriate to recall that the value of the fixed capital of the defense complex is just a few percent of the value of capital for the country as a whole. Substantially less imported equipment is used there, for instance, than in the chemical-technical complex—only a little over half as much.

At the same time it cannot be said that we have paid only a small price for attaining strategic parity in the arms race that has been foisted on our country. What lies behind the figures of the USSR defense budget is considerable material, technical, and manpower resources that could have been used to improve Soviet people's prosperity.

The implementation of the measures planned in our country to reduce the Armed Forces and armaments and to decrease military spending will, specialists estimate, make it possible effectively to save around R30 billion. And if this process can be further developed in a favorable international atmosphere, by as early as 1995 the share of USSR national income accounted for by defense spending will have decreased still more significantly.

How can the released funds and production capacities in defense sectors of industry be most sensibly utilized? The conversion of military production that has now begun is taking place against a backdrop of extensive changes in our economy. On the one hand, this creates a number of difficulties because the economic mechanism is erratic. On the other hand, opportunities emerge for promptly switching resources from some sectors to others and for creating and developing production facilities needed by the people.

Partial conversion—so-called diversification of defense enterprises—that is, the production of consumer goods alongside military output—also took place in our country before. For instance, in 1988, enterprises in the defense complex produced almost 100 percent of televisions, 95 percent of refrigerators, 62 percent of washing machines, and 69 percent of vacuum cleaners. Today peaceful output accounts for 40 percent of the production volume of these enterprises.

It is planned to increase production of this output to 46 percent in 1990 and 60 percent in 1995 by further diversifying production. This is expected to be of considerable help in balancing the domestic market.

Of course, everyone wants to feel an immediate benefit from the reduction of defense spending in the form of a real improvement in living standards. But the calculations of both our own and foreign specialists show that it will be necessary to wait 1-3 years for the corresponding results of the transfer of production "to peaceful lines," depending on the volume of work entailed in this.

We must also clearly recognize that the implementation of conversion itself requires considerable expenditure. In particular, as early as next year sizable sums will be required in order to pay for uncompleted production and to reshape the technological structure of enterprises. In the process a considerable decrease in profits in the defense sectors of industry should be expected.

It is also impossible to expect the reduction in production of military output to immediately remove many supply problems. The point is that the consumption by defense complex enterprises of basic types of raw materials—rolled ferrous metals, steel pipes, lumber, polystyrene, and other types of material resources—constitutes just a few percent of total production and consumption of them in the country.

Conversion entails a need to resolve a number of technical organizational and social questions. Among the most important of them are determining the product list and volumes of peaceful output so that they can be placed at defense plants with due regard for the enterprises' specific nature. Appropriate legal documents will have to be elaborated to ensure that labor collectives' interests do not suffer. Finally, there will be a need for changes in production technology and the retraining of cadres.

All the aforementioned measures will require not just material expenditure, but time. Work is currently under way to implement the full conversion of three defense industry enterprises. They will be used to work out models and methods of conversion. In the process account will also be taken of the experience accumulated by our country in the first postwar years and at the beginning of the sixties, and also by other countries. An extensive state program for the conversion of enterprises under ministries in the defense sectors of industry is being formulated in the light of this experience.

Apart from the money and material resources released as a result of the reduction of the Armed Forces and military spending, a considerable quantity of military hardware will be transferred to the national economy. Hardware that is currently actually in troop units, arsenals, and depots. It is quite possibly a question of transferring in 1989-1990 over 45,000 motor vehicles and motor vehicle chassis, tracklaying tractors and transporters, engineer munitions and equipment systems, radio and telephone communications systems, and refueling and fuel and lubricant transportation systems. Certain types of aviation equipment and Navy auxiliary ships will acquire peaceful professions. Various types of materials and equipment, in particular radio apparatus and its components and various instruments, will also certainly find a use in the national economy.

This year alone it is planned to hand over to the USSR Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] motor vehicle equipment, clothing and related gear, household property, materials, and equipment worth up to R500 million at wholesale prices. Fuel and lubricants worth around R10 million will be received from the Armed Forces. Gossnab territorial organs have already begun to receive the material resources in question from Army and Navy depots and to sell them to organizations and cooperatives, and also to the population for its personal use.

The equipment that is being handed over can be used in the national economy both for its direct purpose and after a certain amount of modification at defense plants and USSR Defense Ministry repair enterprises. Such work is unfolding in all branches of the Armed Forces, and industry's design offices and the Defense Ministry's scientific research establishments are actively joining in it.

In particular, designers have studied potential for utilizing tank chassis in the national economy. It has been established that it is economically expedient to create on the basis of T-54 and T-55 tanks a general-purpose tractor-transporter and various modifications of it, a remote-controlled mobile firefighting machine with robot arms that is capable of operating in extreme conditions, and emergency rescue vehicles. The need for the equipment in question is such that around half of the tanks undergoing reduction will be remodeled.

Of course, it is not easy to find the optimum technical solutions when switching military equipment "to peaceful lines," but economic expediency must always be observed. One example of this approach is the Navy's sale of obsolete ships (17 submarines and 1 cruiser) to the Norwegian firm "Fram Shipping Bermudes." And

although these are going for scrap, I think that this is justified in the present situation, when the country lacks the capacities to recover metal from the hulls of old vessels and ships.

There may very well be other, nontraditional potential uses for combat vehicles being withdrawn from service. Initiative, enterprise, and a proprietorial approach by both industry and the military are important here.

The problem of what spheres the resources released in the course of the reduction of defense spending should be channeled into is now being quite vigorously discussed. Mention is being made of social security, health care, housing construction, and education. I think that the least effective solution would be to distribute these resources among many headings of budget expenditure. It will obviously not be possible to patch up all the "holes" and the effects of this "shot in the arm" will be comparatively short-lived. The resources should be invested in remodeling military enterprises to produce peaceful output—high-technology output matching up to modern standards and capable of pulling up to scratch all the sectors working directly for people. That kind of investment of resources can yield a proper return.

Moreover, I am convinced that in the course of the reduction of the Armed Forces some of the resources should be channeled into social support for the servicemen who are discharged into the reserve or retired, and also channeled into improving the living standards of whose who remain in military service. This would certainly help to strengthen order and discipline and enhance combat readiness and professional skill.

The defensive doctrine proclaimed by our country, the planned reductions in strategic and conventional arms, and our unilateral reduction of the size of the Armed Forces and defense spending all impart special importance to the switch to qualitative parameters in building the Armed Forces and the development of means of armed struggle.

Today we are placing the emphasis on developing types of armaments which reliably ensure the effective solution of defensive tasks. In the process we are not going to follow the "mirror-image" principle by unfailingly creating the same systems as the probable enemy. Our task is to seek asymmetrical solutions combining high effectiveness with economic expediency.

The reduction in the size of our Armed Forces and the quantity of the main types of arms today raises with the utmost acuteness the problem of improving the quality of the combat equipment that is created. In terms of their specifications and performance characteristics our armaments are in practice up there with contemporary world-standard counterparts. For instance, everyone knows what high assessments of the Soviet MiG-29 and Su-27 aircraft were made by foreign specialists at the Le Bourget Air Show. And the level of development of aerospace technology reflects the level of development of the science, technology, and production of the country as a whole.

Nevertheless, today we cannot regard as satisfactory the technical standard of a number of models of weapons in terms of extremely important parameters such as reliability, lifetime, energy consumption, weight, and size. Our science and industry lag behind in the sphere of developing radioelectronic weapon systems, thermal imaging instruments and night vision instruments, and communication and control systems. Yet these play a great role in ensuring reliable defense.

We are particularly perturbed by the question of ensuring a long lifetime, reliability, and dependable operation for arms and military equipment. It was precisely insufficient reliability that to a great extent forced us in the sixties and seventies to aim for quantitative growth in the main types of arms—tanks, aircraft, and ships of various classes.

Competent specialists in our country and abroad clearly recognize that the increase in the complexity of modern equipment, the fact that it is packed with electronics, and the great importance of the human factor in the man-machine system all make the occurrence of system failures and the emergence of malfunctions inevitable. However, today's level of development of technology makes it possible to prevent failures via the development of diagnostic systems, redundancy, and the utilization of optimum operating conditions, to stop them from developing into emergencies, and to prevent disasters involving losses of people and equipment.

Unfortunately, the series of submarine and aircraft accidents that have occurred lately attests to untapped reserves in ensuring the reliable functioning of combat equipment. A factor here is our lag behind advanced countries in the introduction of modern technological processes, the optimum design solutions are not always found, the volume of tests of new weapons systems is reduced without good reason, sometimes laxity is shown by military acceptance commissions at defense plants, and the smooth handover of defense output over the course of the year is not always ensured.

Aside from the aforementioned reasons for the decline in reliability, reasons which can be said to be design and production matters, there is another important reason—the level of training of the personnel handling the arms in combat situations and every day. Today the Armed Forces have good study and training facilities, highly qualified officer cadres, and quite a well educated and technically competent contingent of draftees. Thus it is a matter of improving the training and instruction of personnel, increasing the number of training sessions and the amount of work on simulators and actually on combat equipment. More attention should be paid to the timely performance of scheduled maintenance and

repair work, and no cutbacks in the amount of such work must be allowed. Experience of alert duty, flights, and combat service in remote areas of the world's oceans provides an unequivocal answer—wherever personnel are well instructed and trained, equipment failures are identified and eliminated in a timely fashion without leading to accidents and disasters.

The decisions of the 27th congress and the 19th party conference in the sphere of defense and the country's security and the tasks of ensuring a qualitative improvement in the Armed Forces put forward by the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies are an urgent demand of the time.

On these questions we will have to not only open up some new horizons for ourselves but also rectify miscalculations. A great deal here will depend on the human factor, on the people who create and operate equipment.

We must resolve all these complex tasks—that is our duty, our contribution to perestroyka. Our Army and Navy must possess sufficient potential to ensure the country's security in any conditions.

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